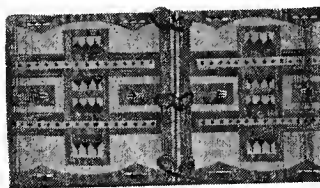
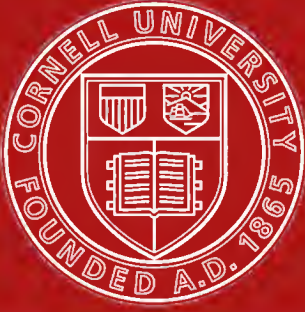


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TUSAYAN KATCINAS

BY

JESSE WALTER FEWKES

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THE GROUP OF TUSAYAN CEREMONIALS CALLED KATCINAS¹

By JESSE WALTER FEWKES

INTRODUCTION

In their use of the word *Katcina*² the Hopi or Moki apply the term to supernatural beings impersonated by men wearing masks or by statuettes in imitation of the same. The dances in which the former appear are likewise called by the same name which with the orthography "Cachena" is used in descriptions of these dances in the valley of the upper Rio Grande. The present use of the term among the Tusayan Indians leads me to consider it as almost a synonym of a supernatural being of subordinate rank to the great deities. Ancestral worship plays a not inconspicuous part in the Hopi conception of a *Katcina*.

When we endeavor to classify the ceremonials which form the ritual practiced by the Tusayan villagers, the subject is found to be so complex that it can be adequately treated only by the help of observations extending through many years. The plan which I have followed in my work, as will be seen in previous publications, has been to gather and record data in regard to the details of individual observances as a basis for generalization.

My former publications on this subject have therefore been simply records of observations.³ For various reasons it has seemed well to anticipate a final and general account and interpretation, with tentative efforts at a classification to serve as a stepping-stone to a more exhaustive and complete discussion of the relationship of these observances, which would naturally appear in an elaborate memoir necessitating a broader method of treatment than any yet adopted.

¹These studies were made while the author was connected with the Hemenway Expedition from 1890 to 1894, and the memoir, which was prepared in 1894, includes the results of the observations of the late A. M. Stephen as well as of those of the author.

²The letters used in spelling Indian words in this article have the following sounds: a, as in far; ä, as in what; ai, as i in pine; e, as a in fate; i, as ia pique; i, as in pin; u, as in rule; ü, as in but; ü, as in the French tu; p, h, v, similar in sound; t and d, like the same in tare and dare, almost indistinguishable; tc, as ch in chink; c, as sh in shall; ñ, as n in syncope; s, sibilant; r, obscure rolling sound; l, m, n, k, h, y, z, as in English.

³These observations are confined to three villages on the East mesa, which has been the field more thoroughly cultivated by the members of the Hemenway Expedition.

At the present stage of my researches it would be too early to write such an account of the ceremonial calendar of the Tusayan villagers, but it has been deemed well to put on record, with many new observations, this preliminary outline of what may be a portion of a general system, to aid other investigators in kindred fields of study. When I began my work, four years ago, the task of bringing order out of what appeared to be a hopeless confusion seemed well-nigh impossible, but as one ceremony after another was studied it was found that the exactness of the ritual as exemplified in ceremonial presentations pertained even to details, and that there was a logical connection running throughout all the religious observances of the Tusayan Indians, the presentations of which were practically little influenced by white races with whom the people had been brought in contact. As these ceremonies were studied more sympathetically I discovered a unity throughout them which, whatever their origin may have been, placed them in marked contrast to those of the nomads by whom they were surrounded. They were found to belong to a type or ceremonial area in which the other Pueblos are embraced, the affinities of which carry us into different geographic regions of the American continent.

But while this type differs or differed in ancient times from those of Athapascan or Shoshonean aborigines, it bears evidence of a composite nature. It had become so by contributions from many sources, and had in turn left its impress on other areas, so that as a type the Pueblo culture was the only one of its kind in aboriginal America. With strong affinities on all sides it was unique, having nearest kinship with those of Mexico and Central America.

The geographic extension of the Pueblo type of culture was no doubt formerly much greater than it is at the present time. What its original boundaries were future investigation will no doubt help us to decide, but the problem at present before us is the determination of its characteristics as a survival in our times. When once this is satisfactorily known, and not until then, can we advance with confidence to wider generalizations as to its past distribution and offer theories regarding its affinities with other ceremonial areas of the American race.

It is doubtless true that we are not progressing beyond what can be claimed to be known when we say that all the Pueblo peoples belong to the same ceremonial type. I am sure that in prehistoric and historic times delegations from the Rio Grande country have settled among the Tusayan villagers, and that many families of the latter have migrated back to the Rio Grande again to make permanent homes in that section. The most western and the most eastern peoples of this Pueblo culture-stock have been repeatedly united in marriage, bringing about a consequent commingling of blood, and the legends of both tell of their common character. It is too early in research to inject into science the idea that the Pueblos are modified Indians of other stocks, and

we outstrip our knowledge of facts if we ascribe to any one village or group of villages the implication involved in the expression, "Father of the Pueblos." Part of the Pueblo culture is autochthonal, but its germ may have originated elsewhere, and no one existing Pueblo people is able satisfactorily to support the claim that it is ancestral outside of a very limited area.

In the present article I have tried to present a picture of one of the two great natural groups of ceremonials into which the Tusayan ritual is divided. I have sought also to lay a foundation for comparative studies of the same group as it exists in other pueblos, but have not found sufficient data in regard to these celebrations in other villages to carry this comparative research very far. Notwithstanding these dances occur in most of the pueblos, the published data about them is too meager for comparative uses. No connected description of these ceremonies in other pueblos has been published; of theoretical explanations we have more than are profitable. It is to be hoped that the ever-increasing interest in the ceremonials of the Pueblos of the southwest will lead to didactic, exoteric accounts of the rituals of all these peoples, for a great field for research in this direction is yet to be tilled.

In the use, throughout this article, of the words "gods," "deities," and "worship" we undoubtedly endow the subject with conceptions which do not exist in the Indian mind, but spring from philosophic ideas resulting from our higher culture. For the first two the more cumbersome term "supernatural beings"¹ is more expressive, and the word "spirit" is perhaps more convenient, except from the fact that it likewise has come to have a definite meaning unknown to the primitive mind.

Worship, as we understand it, is not a proper term to use in the description of the Indian's methods of approaching his supernal beings. It involves much which is unknown to him, and implies the existence of that which is foreign to his conceptions. Still, until some better nomenclature, more exactly defining his methods, is suggested, these terms from their convenience will still continue in common use.

The dramatic element which is ascribed to the *Katcina*² ritual is more prominent in the elaborate than in the abbreviated presentations, as would naturally be the case, but even there it is believed to be less striking than in the second group or those in which the performers are without masks.

There exists in Hopi mythology many stories of the old times which form an accompanying body of tradition explaining much of the symbolism and some of the ritual, but nowhere have I found the sequence of the ceremonials to closely correspond with the episodes of the myth. In the Snake or the Flute dramatizations this coincidence of myth and ritual is more striking, but in them it has not gone so far as to be

¹ "Souls" in the broadest conception of the believers in Tylor's animistic theory.

² The distinction between elaborate and abbreviated *Katcinas* will be spoken of later.

comparable with religious dramatizations of more cultured peoples. Among the *Katcinas*, however, it is more obscure or even very limited. While an abbreviated *Katcina* may be regarded as a reproduction of the celebrations recounted in legends of times when real supernatural beings visited the pueblos, and thus dramatizes semimythic stories, I fail to see aught else in them of the dramatic element.

The characteristic symbolism is prescribed and strictly conforms to the legends. Explanations of why each *Katcina* is marked this or that way can be gathered from legends, but the continuous carrying out of the sequence of events in the life of any *Katcina*, or any story of creation or migration, did not appear in any abbreviated¹ *Katcina* which was studied. In this subdivision a dramatic element is present, but only in the crudest form. In the elaborate *Katcinas*, however, we find an advance in the amount of dramatization, or an attempt to represent a story or parts of the same. Thus we can in *Soyáluña* follow a dramatic presentation of the legend of the conflict of the sun with hostile deities or powers, in which both are personified.

I must plead ignorance of the esoteric aspect of the Tusayan conceptions of the *Katcinas* when such exists. This want of knowledge is immaterial, for the object of this article is simply to record what has been seen and goes no further. I will not say that a complete account of the *Katcinas* can be given by such a treatment, and do not know how much or how little of their esoterism has eluded me, but these observations are wholly exoteric records of events rather than esoteric explanations of causes. It is thought that such a treatment of the subject will be an important contribution to the appreciation of explanations which it naturally precedes.

Although it seems probable that the ritual of primitive man contains elements of a more or less perfect dramatization of his mythology, I incline to the opinion that the ritual is the least variable and from it has grown the legend as we now know it. The question, Which came first, myth or ritual? is outside the scope of this article.

Any one who has studied the ceremonial system of the Tusayan Indians will have noticed the predominance of great ceremonials in winter. From harvest time to planting there is a succession of celebrations of most complicated and varied nature, but from planting to harvesting all these rites are much curtailed. The simplest explanation of this condition would be, and probably is, necessity. There is

¹It would be interesting to know what relationship exists between abbreviated and elaborate *Katcinas*. Are the former, for instance, remnants of more complicated presentations in which the secret elements have been dropped in the course of time? Were they formerly more complicated, or are they in lower stages of evolution, gathering episodes which if left alone would finally make them more complex? I incline to the belief that the abbreviated *Katcinas* are remnants, and their reduction due to practical reasons. In a general way the word *Katcina* may be translated "soul" or "deified ancestor," and in this respect affords most valuable data to the upholders of the animistic theory. But there are other elements in Tusayan mythology which are not animistic. As Mogk has well shown in Teutonic mythology, nature elements and the great gods are original, so among the Hopi the nature elements are not identified with remote ancestors, nor is there evidence that their worship was derivative. As Saussure remarks, "Animism is always and everywhere mixed up with religion; it is never and nowhere the whole of religion."

not time enough to devote to great and elaborate ceremonials when the corn must be cared for. Time is then too precious, but when the corn is high and the crop is in sight, or during the long winter when the agriculturist is at home unemployed, then the superstitious mind has freedom to carry on elaborate rites and observances, and then naturally he takes part in the complex ceremonies. Hence the spring and early summer religious observances are abbreviated. Although the Pueblo farmer may thoroughly believe in his ceremonial system as efficacious, his human nature is too practical to consume the precious planting time with elaborate ceremonials. But when he sees that the crop is coming and harvest is at hand, then he begins the series of, to him, magnificent pageants which extend from the latter part of August until March of the following year.

It has been proven by repeated observations of the same ceremonials that there is great constancy in the way successive presentations of the ritual are carried out year after year. The inevitable modifications resulting from the death of old priests undoubtedly in course of time affect individual observances, but their ritual is never voluntarily changed. The ceremonials which I have here and elsewhere described were not invented by them to show to me, nor will any religious society of the Hopi at the present day get up a ceremony to please the white man. Each observance is traditional and prescribed for a certain time of the year.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE SEQUENCE OF TUSAYAN CELEBRATIONS¹

The following tabular view of the sequence of ceremonials may aid in the study of the Hopi calendar, and indicate the ceremonials presented to us for classification:

A^2 { Katcina's return.
Powámû.
Pálülüköñti.

The abbreviated Katcinas commonly come in the interval, and vary somewhat from year to year.

B { Nimán (Katcina's departure).
Snake or Flute (alternating).
Lálakoñti.
Mamzraúti.
Wüwütcímti³ (sometimes Naácnaiya).
Soyáluña.

¹ By Gregorian months, which of course the Hopi do not recognize by these names or limits. Their own "moons" have been given elsewhere.

² The months to which the first division roughly corresponds are January to July. The second division includes, roughly speaking, August and December (inclusive). More accurately defined, the solar year is about equally divided into two parts by the Nimán, which is probably the exact dividing celebration of the ceremonial year.

³ There is a slight *r* sound in the first two syllables of Wüwütcímti.

Masked or Katcina Ceremonials

<i>December</i>	<i>January</i>	<i>February</i>	<i>March</i>	<i>April-June</i>	<i>July</i>
Soyáluña.	Pa.	Powámû.	Pálülüköñti.	Variable abbreviated Katcinas.	Nimán.

Unmasked or Nine Days' Ceremonials

<i>August</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>November</i>
Snake or Flute.	Lálakoñti.	Mamzraúti.	Wüwüteímti or Naácnaiya.

The Katcina chief, Íntiwa, erects his altar every year in the Mónkiva, but different kivas by rotation or otherwise celebrate the dance of the Nimán by their appropriate presentation, thus: The men of the Wikwáliobikiva celebrated the dance in 1891; those of Nacáb-kiva in 1892; those of the Álkiva in 1893, and probably in 1894 the men of the Teivatokiva will personate the last Katcina of the summer. It thus will appear that the special supernatural personage represented varies from year to year within certain limits, and the variations mean nothing more than that the members of the different kivas participate in rotation.

NAMES OF MONTHS AND CORRESPONDING CEREMONIALS

The Tusayan names of the months are as follows:

<i>Months</i>	<i>Ceremonials</i>
1. Powámû'iyawû ¹	Powámû.
2. Ū'eümû'iyawû	Pálülüköñti.
3. Kwiyaomû'iyawû.	
4. Hakitonmû'iyawû.	
5. Kelemû'iyawû.	

¹The word mü'iyawû means "moon," by which it would seem that our satellite determines the smaller divisions of the year.

<i>Months</i>	<i>Ceremonials</i>
6. Kyamü'iyawû	Nimán.
7. Pamü'iyawû	(Snake, Flute.)
8. Powa'mü'iyawû	Lálakoñti.
9. Hüükmü'iyawû.	
10. Ü'cüñü'iyawû	Mamzraúti.
11. Kelemü'iyawû	Wüwütcímti.
12. Kyamü'iyawû	Soyáluña.
13. Pamü'iyawû	Katcina's return.

The second part of the October (Ü'cü) is said to be called Tü'hoë. If this is recognized as a lunar period we would have 14 divisions to the ceremonial year. In the Pamü'iyawû, the Snake ceremony, and the Katcina's return, the same Nüitiwa (struggle of maids for bowls, etc) occurs.

It will be noticed that the five summer moons have the same names as those of the winter; by that I do not mean to discard the divisions "named" and "nameless," elsewhere used on good authority. The questions regarding the nomenclature of the different moons and their number are very perplexing and not yet satisfactorily answered.

The determination of the number of moons recognized in the year or the interval between the successive reappearance of the sun in his house (Táwaki) at the summer solstitial rising is a most important question, for a satisfactory answer to which my researches thus far are insufficient. Several of the priests have told me that there were 13, as given above; but others say there are 12, and still others, 14. The comparative ethnologist, familiar with Mexican calendars, would be glad to accept the report that there were 13, in which case there would be introduced a remarkable harmony between peoples akin in many ways. Although, however, there is good evidence that 13 is recognized by some priests, the negative evidence must be mentioned, especially as it is derived from men whose knowledge of Hopi lore I have come to respect. I have, however, provisionally followed the opinion of those who hold that the Hopi recognize 13 ceremonial months in their calendar.

If the second part of the Ü'cü moon be called Tü'hoë, we would have 14 moons, which would give 6 between 2 Pówa, or 2 Pa, Kéle, Kyá, and divide the ceremonial year into two parts of 7 moons each. The Katcina's return (Ükine), or the beginning of the Katcinas, then occurs in the Pa moon; they end in Kyá at the Nimán (last, farewell). The group of unmasked ceremonials (nine days) likewise begins at the Pa moon in the Snake or Flute, and ends at the winter, Kyá, or Soyáluña.

In endeavoring to find some reason for the similarity of names in the two groups of months which compose the ceremonial year I have this interesting hint, dropped by one of the priests: "When we of the upper world," he said, "are celebrating the winter Pa moon the people of the under world are engaged in the observance of the Snake or Flute, and vice versa." The ceremonials in the two worlds are synchronous. "That is the reason," said my informant, "that we make the Snake or Flute pahos during the winter season, although the dance is not celebrated until the corresponding month of the following summer."¹

MEANS OF DETERMINING THE TIME FOR CEREMONIALS

Among the Hopi Indians there are priests (*tawawympkiyas*) skilled in the lore of the sun, who determine, by observations of the points on the horizon, where the sun rises or sets, the time of the year proper for religious ceremonials. Two of these points are called sun houses, one at *tátyüka*,² which is called the sun house (*táwaki*) par excellence, another at *kwiniwi*, which also is called *táwaki*, or sun house.

The points on the horizon used in the determination of ceremonial events are as follows:

1. *Táwaki* (*hütca*, opening). The horizon point properly called *savwúwee* marks the cardinal point *tátyüka* or place of sunrise at the winter solstice. The winter ceremony *Soyáluña* is determined not by sunrise, but by sunset, although, as a general thing, the time of summer ceremonials is determined by observations of sunrise.

2. *Másnamüzrü* (*mási*, drab or gray; *namüzrü*, wooded ridge). This point is the ridge or crest of the mesa, east of *Püp'ce*.

3. *Pavüñ'téomo* (*pavüñ'*, young corn; *téomo*, mound). A point on the old wagon trail to Fort Defiance, a little beyond the head of Keams canyon.

4. *Hoñwítcomo* (derivation obscure; *hóñwi*, erect).

5. *Nüvák'tcomo* (*nüvák*, snow; *téomo*, mound). When the sun reaches here on its northern journey the *Honáni* or Badger people plant corn; the other Hopi people plant melons, squashes, and gourds.

6. *Pülhomotaka* (*pülü*, round, hump; *hómo*, obscure; *táka*, man; possibly many hump-back men). When the sun reaches here the *Pátiki*

¹From their many stories of the under world I am led to believe that the Hopi consider it a counterpart of the earth's surface, and a region inhabited by sentient beings. In this under world the seasons alternate with those in the upper world, and when it is summer in the above it is winter in the world below, and vice versa. Moreover, ceremonies are said to be performed there as here, and frequent references are made to their character. It is believed that these ceremonies somewhat resemble each other and are complementary. In their cultus of the dead the under world is also regarded as the abode of the "breath-body" of the deceased, who enter it through a *sipapu*, often spoken of as a lake. I have not detected that they differentiate this world into two regions, the abode of the blessed and that of the damned.

²The *Táwaki* of *tátyüka* is the sun house. There is no sun house at *hópoko* nor at *tevyüña*. The names of the four horizon cardinal points are, *kwiniwi*, northwest; *tevyüña*, southwest; *tátyüka*, southeast, and *hopokyüka* (syncopated *hópoko*), northeast.

or Water people plant corn. When the sun returns here the Snake-Antelope fraternities assemble for the Snake dance.

7. Kwitcála.¹ When the sun rises at this point on his northward journey general planting begins, which continues until the summer solstice. When the sun returns to this point on his southerly journey the Nimáukatcina is celebrated.

8. Taíovi (?).

9. Owátcoki (owa, rock; tcóki, mound house).

10. Wü'nacakabi (wü'na, pole; cáka, ladder).

11. Wakácva, cattle spring, 12 miles north of Keams canyon.

12. Paváukyaki, swallow house.

13. Tüytika, summer solstice.

We are justified in accepting the theory that sun and moon² worship is usual among primitive men. Whether that of the sun or of our satellite was the earlier it is not in the province of this article to discuss, but it is doubtless true that sun worship is a very ancient cult among most primitive peoples. The Pueblos are not exceptions, and while we can not say that their adoration is limited to the sun, it forms an essential element of their ritual, while their anhydrous environment has led them into a rain-cloud worship and other complexities. I think we can safely say, however, that the germ of their astronomy sprang from observations of the sun, and while yet in a most primitive condition they noticed the fact that this celestial body did not always rise or set at the same points on the horizon. The connection between these facts and the seasons of the year must have been noted early in their history, and have led to orientation, which plays such an important part in all their rituals. Thus the approach of the sun to a more vertical position in the sky in summer and its recession in winter led to the association of time when the earth yielded them their crops with its approach, and the time when the earth was barren with its recession. These epochs were noticed, however, not by the position of the sun at mid-day, but at risings and settings, or the horizon points. The two great epochs, summer and winter, were, it is believed, connected with

¹Note the similarity in sound to the Nahuatl month, Quecholli, in which the Atamalqualiztli was celebrated. See "A Central American ceremony which suggests the Snake dance of the Tusayan villagers," *American Anthropologist*, Washington, vol. vi, No. 3. Quecholli, however, according to both Sahagun and Serna, was in November. The Snake dance at Walpi is thus celebrated about six months from Atamalqualiztli, or not far from the time when the people of the under world celebrate their Snake-Antelope solemnities. In this connection attention may be called to the fact that the Snake-Antelope priests in Walpi have a simple gathering in the winter Pa moon (January), when their sacerdotal kindred of the under world are supposed by them to be performing their unabbreviated snake rites. This is at most only about a month from the time Atamalqualiztli was celebrated. Teotlilo, the Nahuatl return of the war god, occurred in November; Soyáluña, the warriors' return, in December. There are important comparative data bearing on the likeness of Hopi and Nahuatl ceremonies hidden in the resemblance between Kwetcála and Quecholli (Kwetcoli).

²Müyiwüh, the goddess of germs, is preeminently the divinity of the under world, and has some remarkable similarities to the Nahuatl Mictlantecutli or his female companion Mictlanecihuatl. The name is very similar to that for moon. This was the ruler of the world of shades visited by Tiyo, the snake hero. (See the legend of the Snake Youth in *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. iv, Boston, 1894.)

solstitial amplitudes, and the equinoctial, horizontal points, unconnected with important times to agriculturists, were not considered as of much worth. There is every evidence, however, that the time of day was early indicated by the altitude of the sun, although the connection of the altitude at midday with the time of year was subordinated to observations on the horizon.

CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIALS

In attempting to make out the annual cycle of ceremonial observances, as determined by observations made during the last three years, I recognize two groups, the differences between which may be more or less arbitrary. These groups are called—

I. The Katcinas.

II. The Nine days' ceremonials.

The former of these groups, which is the subject of this article, begins with the Katcinas' return,¹ and ends with their departure (Nimán). It is not my purpose here to do more than refer to the latter group, as a short reference to them may be of value for a proper understanding of the Katcinas.

There are significant likenesses between different members of the series of nine days' ceremonials, and they may be grouped in several pairs, of which the following may be mentioned:

I. Snake or Flute.²

II. Lálakoñti and Mamzraúti.

III. Powámû and Pálülûkoñti.

IV. Wüwütcímti and Naácnaiya.

The likenesses are built on the similarity of the rites practiced in both members of each pair. The Hopi priests recognize another kinship which does not appear in the nature of the ceremonies as much as in the subordinate parts. Thus, Lálakoñti and Pálülûkoñti, Wüwütcímti and Mamzraúti are brother and sister ceremonials, according to their conceptions. This kinship is said to account for certain events in the ceremonials, and friendly feeling manifested between certain societies, but much obscurity envelops this whole subject of relationships.

The term "Nine days' ceremonies" refers to the active³ ceremonial days, including those in which the chiefs perform the secret observance and the open dance of the last days. Strictly speaking, the ceremonial smoke to determine the time is a part of the observance, and from

¹The Soyálnña has been called the Kactina's return, which name is not inaccurate. It is, strictly speaking, a warriors' celebration, and marks the return of the leader of the Katcinas, as in Teofleco. The Katcinas appear in force in the Pa celebration.

²I have elsewhere pointed out the similarity between the dramatizations of the Snake-Antelope and the Flute societies, but the members of the former seem the idea that they are related. Evidently the similarity in their ceremonials, which can not be denied, are not akin to the relationships which they recognize between brother and sister societies.

³Strictly speaking, eight active, since the first day is not regarded as a ceremonial day. See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. IV, p. 13, 1894.

this date to the final public exhibition there are sixteen days, a multiple of the omnipresent number four.

Some of the Katcinas have nine days of ceremonials, counting the assembly and the final purification.

The inception of the ceremony is called *tcótcōñ yūñya*, smoking assembly, in which the chiefs (*moñ'mowitû*) meet together in the evening at a prescribed house. The meeting places are as follows:

<i>Tcütciüb</i> (Snake-Autelope fraternity)	Snake chief's mother's house.
<i>Mamzrañ</i>	<i>Sálako's</i> .
<i>Lálakoñ</i>	<i>Kótenümsi's</i> .
<i>Soyáluña</i>	<i>Vénsi's</i> .
<i>Wüwütcím</i>	<i>Tcíwüqti's</i> .
<i>Lénya</i> (Flute)	<i>Talásvensi's</i> .
<i>Nimán</i>	<i>Kwümaletci's</i> .

On the day following this smoke the speaker chief (*tcaákmoñwi*) at early sunrise announces to the public that the ceremony is to begin, and to the six direction deities (*nananivo moñ'mowitû*) that the priests are about to assemble to pray for rain. Eight days after the announcement the chiefs gather in the kiva, and that day is called *yūñya*, assemblage, but is not counted in the sequence of ceremonial days. The first ceremonial day is *Cüctála*, after which follow the remaining days as already explained in my account of the Snake ceremonials. Counting the days from the commencement, the Snake, Flute, *Nimán*, *Lálakoñti*, and *Mamzrañti* are always celebrated in extenso sixteen days, or nine days of active ceremonies, as shown in articles elsewhere. When *Naácnaiya* is not celebrated, *Wüwütcímti*, *Powámû*, *Soyáluña*, and *Pálülükoñti* are abbreviated to four days of active ceremonials.

The following diagnosis may be made of these great nine days' ceremonials: Duration of the ceremony, nine consecutive days and nights; no masked dancers in secret or public exhibitions; no Katcinas; no *Teukúwypmkiyas*.¹ Altars and sand mosaics generally present. Individual ceremonials either annual or biennial, but in either case at approximately the same time of the year; sequence constant. *Típoni*² generally brought out in the public dance. Many *páhos*,³ ordinarily of different length (Snake, Flute, *Lálakoñti*, *Mamzrañti*), to deposit in shrines at varying distances from the town. Ceremonial racing, generally in the morning of the eighth and ninth days.

¹Clowns, called likewise "mudheads" and "gluttons."

²The *típoni* is supposed to be the mother or the palladium, the sacred badge of office of the society. It is one of the *wimi* or sacred objects in the keeping of a chief, and is the insignium of his official standing. The character of this object varies with different societies, and, in a simple form, is an ear of corn surrounded by sticks and bright-colored feathers bound by a buckskin string. For the contents of the more elaborate forms, see my description of the *Lálakoñti típoni* (called bundles of *páhos*).

³*Páhos* or prayer-sticks are prayer-bearers of different forms conceived to be male and female when double. Their common form is figured in my memoir on the Snake Ceremonials at Walpi; Jour. Am. Eth. and Arch., vol. iv, p. 27. Prescribed forms vary with different deities.

The following are the important nine days' ceremonies:

1. The Autelope-Snake celebration, alternating biennially with the Lélenti or Flute observance.

2. The Lálakoūti. This ceremony lasts nine days and as many nights, and is celebrated by women. The details of the celebration at Walpi in 1891, together with the altars, fetiches, and the like have already been published.¹ It has some likenesses with the Mamzraūti, which follows it in sequence. There are four priestesses, the chief of whom is Kótenūmsi. Three típonis were laid on the altar in

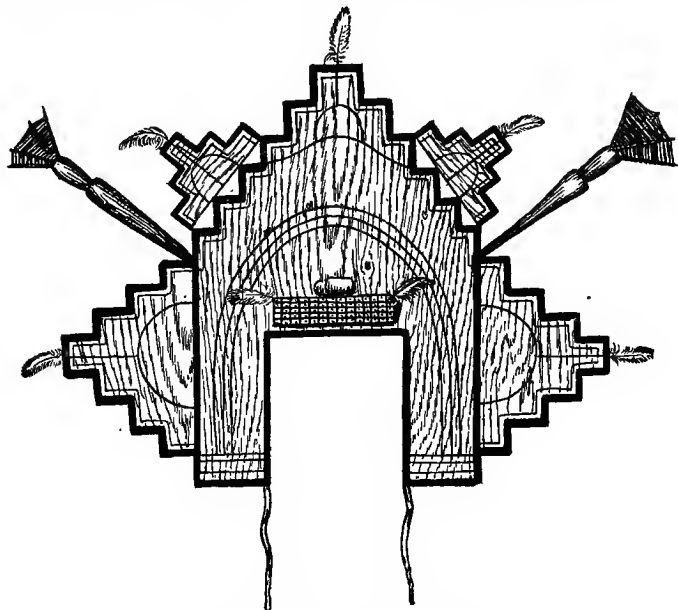


FIG. 39—Tablet of the Palahíkomana mask.

the celebration of 1891, although it is customary for each society to have but one típoni, which, with the other paraphernalia, is in the keeping of the chief priest.

3. The Mamzraūti. This ceremonial has likewise been described.² In some celebrations of this festival girls appear with tablets on their heads personifying maids called Palahíkomanas. In 1891 these personages were represented by pictures³ of the same on slabs carried in the hands of girls. In this way the variations of their celebrations in different years may be explained; sometimes women are dressed to impersonate the Palahíkomanas, at others only pictures of the same are carried.

¹ The American Anthropologist, Washington, April, 1892.

² Ibid., July, 1892.

³ Erroneously identified as Cálako in my description and plates of the presentation of the Mamzraūti in 1891.



SHIELD WITH STAR SYMBO.



SOYALUNA SHIELD WITH UNKNOWN SYMBO.



SYMBOLIC SUN SHIELD.

4. The Wüwütcímti. The Naácnaiya, of which this is an abbreviated observance, has been described.¹ One of the most prominent events is the ceremonial making of the new fire; and as this is in a measure distinctive of these two, it is proper to designate them the New Fire ceremonies.

In essentials the Naácnaiya and the Wüwütcímti are the same, but the former appears to be of less constant appearance and more complicated. In it, as elsewhere described, the statuette of Talátumsi is brought into the pueblo, but in the abbreviated form offerings are made at her shrine down the trail. During the making of the new fire Ánawita,² personifying Masauwüh, is hidden behind a blanket held by two assistants.

The second group, called the Kacinas, which may be divided into two smaller divisions, known as the elaborate and the abbreviated, fills out the sequence of religious ceremonials between the Soyáluña and the Nimánkacina. These celebrations are distinguished from those of the former group by the presence of masked personages to whom is given the name of Kacinas. By the use of these masks or helmets the participant is supposed to be transformed into the deity represented, and women and children avoid looking at Kacinas when unmasked. The main symbolism of the deity is depicted on the helmet or head, and varies in different presentations, but the remaining paraphernalia is constant, whatever personage is represented.³

The mask (kü'itü, head) is often addressed as íkwatci, "my friend or double." Prescriptively it must be put on and taken off with the left hand.⁴ It is of helmet shape, fitting closely to the head and resting on the shoulders. These masks or helmets are repainted at each presentation with the symbolism of the personage intended to be represented. They are ordinarily made of leather, portions of boot legs or saddles, and in one or two instances I have found on their inside the embossed or incised markings characteristic of Spanish saddles. Old felt hats are sometimes used in the manufacture of the simpler masks and those of the mud-heads are of coarse cloth. Few of the helmets now used give evidence of very great antiquity, although some are made of the skin of the bison. One can seldom purchase these helmets, as their manufacture is difficult, and instead of being discarded after use in one ceremony they are repainted for other presentations.

¹ The four societies who celebrate the Wüwütcímti are the Aálwypkiya, Wüwütcímwypkiya, Tataükymá, and Kwákwantü.

² Chief of the Kwákwantü, a powerful warrior society. Among various attributes Másaüwüh is the Fire God.

³ The body, save for a kilt, is uncovered. This kilt is white or green in color, with embroidered rain-cloud symbols. This is tied by a sash, with dependent fox-skin behind. Rattles made of a turtle shell and sheep or antelope hoofs are tied to one leg back of the knee, and moccasins are ordinarily worn. Spruce twigs are inserted in the girdle, and the Kacina carries a rattle in one hand. This rattle is a gourd shell with stones within and with a short wooden handle.

⁴ The left hand is always used to receive meal offerings and nakwákwois, and is spoken of as kyakyauína, desirable. The right hand is called tünümahtu, food hand.

There is a similar uniformity year by year in the time of the celebration of the extended or elaborate Katcinas called Nimán, Powámû, Pálülüköñti, Soyáluña, and the Pa or Katcina's return. Their sequence is always the same, but in the abbreviated Katcinas or masked dances this uniformity is not adhered to. A certain number of these are celebrated each spring and summer, but the particular abbreviated Katcina¹ which is presented varies from year to year, and may or may not be reproduced.

While Katcinas or masked dances do not generally occur during the interval of the nine days' ceremonials (autumn and early winter), I have notes on one of these which indicate that they sometimes take place in this epoch.

On September 20, 1893, a Katcina called Áñakatkina² was performed in Hano after the Nimán had been celebrated in Walpi. Theoretically it would not be expected, as the farewell Katcina is universally said to be a celebration of the departure of these personages to their distant home, an event which does not occur at Hano. It would be strange if later observations should show that Katcinas are celebrated in other villages between the departure and return of these personages.

DISCUSSION OF PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS OF KATCINAS

Our exact knowledge of the character of the Hopi Katcinas dates back to Schoolcraft's valuable compilation. While the existence of these dances was known previously to that time, and several references to similar dances among the other Pueblos might be quoted from the writings of Spanish visitors, our information of the Katcina celebrations in Tusayan previously to 1852 is so fragmentary that it is hardly of value in comparative studies. In the year named Dr P. S. G. Ten Broeck visited Tusayan and published a description of what was probably a Katcina dance at Sitcomovi. Although his account is so imperfect that we can not definitely say what Katcina was personated, his description was the first important contribution to our knowledge of the character of these dances among the Hopi Indians. It will be noticed in a general way that the personation differed but slightly from those of the present day. Ten Broeck noted that the male dancers, Katcinas, wore on their heads "large pasteboard towers"

¹The word Katcina, as already stated, is applied to a ceremonial dance and to a personator in the same. The symbolism of each is best expressed by the carved wooden statuettes or dolls, *tihus*, many examples of which I have described in my article on "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians" in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, 1894. Profitable sources of information in regard to the symbolic characteristics of the Katcinas are ceramic objects, photographs, clay tiles, clay images, pictures on altars, etc. All pictorial or glyptic representations of the same Katcina are in the main identical, with slight variations in detail, due to technique.

²For a description of the Áñakatkina see *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, No. 1.

(náktei?), and "visors¹ made of small willows, with the bark peeled off and dyed a deep brown." He recognized that the female dancers (Katsinamanas) were men dressed as women and that they wore yellow "visors" and dressed their hair in whorls as at the present time. He described the musical(?) accompaniment of the dance with the scapula of an animal rubbed over a "ground piece of wood." He likewise noticed the priests who sprinkled the dancers with sacred meal, and speaks of two small boys painted black with white rings who accompanied the dance. The latter may have been personifications of the Little Fire Gods.

The Hopi clowns, Tcukúwypkiyas, were likewise seen by Ten Broeck, who described their comical actions. From his description of the byplay of their "assistants," I find very little change has taken place since his time. In the Katsina which he observed food was distributed during the dance, as I have elsewhere described is the case today. Although much might be added to Ten Broeck's description, his observations were the most important which had been made known up to his time, and continued for forty years the most valuable record of this group² of dances among the Tusayan Indians.

CLASSIFICATION OF KATCINAS

Before considering the various ceremonials in which the Katsinas appear, it may be well to say something of the nature of these supernatural beings which figure in them as made known by the testimony of some of the best-informed men of the tribe. The various legends which are told about them are numerous and can not be repeated here, but a few notions gathered from them may render it possible for the reader to better understand the character of the ceremonials in which they appear.

These deities are generally regarded as animistic and subordinate to the greater gods.³ They have been called intercessors between man

¹I have also seen visors of this kind, and an old priest of my acquaintance on secular occasions sometimes wore a huge eye shade or visor made of basketware. The helmet of the Humiskatsina bears a willow framework which forms a kind of visor, and if, as I suspect from the "large paste-board [skin over framework or wooden board] tower," it was a tablet or náktei, the personification mentioned by Ten Broeck may have been a Humiskatsina. In May, 1891, I observed a Humis, but there is no reason from the theory of the time of abbreviated Katsinas to limit it to May. It might have been performed in April equally well. The Katsinamanas were not observed by me to wear such visors as Ten Broeck observed.

²During that time our knowledge of the Snake dance had been enlarged by Stephen, Bourke, and others.

³The Katsinas, sometimes spelled Cachinas, are believed to be the same as the Zuñi Kókoe and possibly the Nahuatl teotls. The derivation is obscure; possibly it is from kátci, spread out, horizontal, the surface of the earth, náa, father, abbreviated na, surface of land, father. The Tusayan Indians say that their Katsinas are the same as the Zuñi Kóko, pronouncing the word as here spelled. Cushing insists, however, that the proper name of the organization is Ká'ká. I find Mrs. Stevenson, in her valuable article on the Religious Life of a Zuñi Child, has used the spelling Kok'ko, which introduces the o sound which the Tusayan people distinctly use in speaking of the Katsinas of their nearest Pueblo neighbors. This variation in spelling of one of the more common words by conscientious

and the highest supernatural beings. There are misty legends that long ago the Katcinas, like men, came from the under world and brought with them various charms or náhü with which the Hopi are familiar. By some it is said that a Honáni (Badger) chief came up from the Átkyaa, or under world, in the center of a square whose four sides were formed of lines of Katcinas, and that he bore in his left hand a buzzard wing feather and a bundle of medicine hats on his back. The Katcinas recognized him as their chief, and became Katcina Honáni, Badger Katcinas.

The legend runs that in ancient times Hahaíwüqti¹ emerged from the under world followed by four sons, who were Katcinas, each bearing in his arms a pet called pálülikoññh, plumed serpent. Following these four came other Katcinas with pets (pókomatü), of whom the following are mentioned:

One bearing pákwa, frog (water-eagle).

One bearing pátsro, water-bird.

One bearing pawíkya, duck.

One bearing pavákiyuta, water on the backs bearers, aquatic animals.

One bearing yññ'ocona, turtle.

One bearing zrána, bullfrog.

One bearing pavátiya, young water bearer (tadpole).

The others with kwáhü (eagle), parrot, crow, cooper's hawk, swallow, and night hawk.

The Súmaíkoli pets for the six directions are:

Sowññwú, deer Kwiníwi.

Pañ'wú, mountain sheep Tevyñña.

Teñ'bio, antelope Tatyúka.

Tcaízrisa, elk Hópoka.

Sówi, hare Omyúka.

Tábo, cottontail rabbit Atkyántuka.

The first four Katcinas bear a startling yet foreign resemblance to the Navaho Etsuthçle.² The word pókomatü is difficult to translate, but "pets" seems a good rendering. Its usage is similar to that of certain Navaho words. A Navaho woman speaks of a favorite child as ciliⁿ; a man calls his pet horse ciliⁿ, and the shaman designates his fetich-emblem of a nature deity biliⁿ; a Hopi calls his dog póko. The pet of Tuñwup is depicted on the altar as elsewhere mentioned in my account of the reredos of the farewell Katcina at Walpi.³

observers shows one of the difficulties which besets the path of those who attempt etymologic dissection of Pueblo words. Many Zuni words in the mouths of the Hopi suffer strange modifications, so that I am not greatly surprised to find idiomatic differences between the Hopi dialect of the East mesa and that of Oraibi. How much may result after years of separation no one can tell, but the linguist must be prepared to find these differences very considerable.

¹This person is said to have been the mother of the Katoias. She also was the mother of the monsters, the slaughter of whom by the cultus hero, Pü'ükonhoya, and his twin brother is a constant theme in Tusayan folklore.

²Stevenson, Navaho Sand Paintings, in Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

³Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. II, No. 1.



THE NATACKA CEREMONY AT WALPI

In the Hopi conception of the All Katcina there seems to be an idea that they dwell in four terrestrial places or world-quarters.¹ This may be looked on as an application of a general idea of world-quarter deities so common among them.

Northwest, kwiníwi Kicyúba.
 Southwest, tevyiúña Nüvatikyaubi, San Francisco mountains.
 Southeast, tatyúka Wénima.
 Northeast, hópoko Nüvatikyaubi, San Mateo mountains.

If there is any one feature which distinguishes a Katcina it is the use, by some or all of the participants, of a mask or ceremonial helmet. The Katcinas are divided into two groups, the complete and the abbreviated; the former is constant year by year, the latter varying. Altars are present in the complete, absent in abbreviated presentations. A cloud-charm altar or invocation to the six world-quarter deities is sometimes made. Public announcements are not prescribed. The *Tcukúwypkiya* or clowns are generally present. Abbreviated Katcinas consist mainly of public dances in which Katcinas, Katcinamanas, and clowns take part. The *páhos* or prayer offerings are few in number. Ceremony ends with a feast; generally no altars. *Típoni*² is not brought out in public. It is possible that the fox-skin so universally worn by the animistic personifications called Katcinas hanging from the belt behind, is a survival comparable with the skin of the animal in which formerly, as in Nahuatl ceremonials, the whole body was clothed. In the case of *Natácka*, for instance, a skin is still worn over the shoulders. Conservatism in dress is tenaciously adhered to in religious paraphernalia among all peoples.

Roughly speaking we may say that the Katcina celebrations are characterized by the presence of the *Tcukúwypkiyas* (*Tatcüküti*, *Tcükükütü*, *Paikyamü* or clowns), which do not appear in the unmasked or nine days' ceremonials. The epoch in which they remain among the Hopi is therefore approximately that from the winter to the summer

¹The Hopi report that the Zuñi believe that the dead are changed into Katcinas and go to a *Sipapú*, which they descend and tell the "chiefs" to send the rain. The Hopi believe that the dead become divinized (Katcinas in a loose meaning) and intercede for rain. (See discussion of Mrs Stevenson's statement that the dead send rain.) It seems to me that students of primitive myth and ritual have hardly begun to realize the important part which orientation plays in early religions. As research progresses it will be found to be of primary importance. The idea of world-quarter deities sprang from astronomical conceptions and was derived from a primitive sun worship in which the lesser deities naturally came to be associated with the four horizon points of solstitial sunrise and sunset.

²I have elsewhere pointed out that the *típoni* is called the mother, and this usage seems to hold among the other Pueblos. As a badge of chieftaincy it is carried by the chiefs on certain occasions of initiation and public exhibitions, as can be seen by consulting my memoir of the Snake Ceremonials at Walpi. Cimo, the old Flute chief (died 1893), once made the following remark about his *típoni*: "This is my mother; the outer wrapping is her garment; the string of shells is her necklace; the feathers typify the birds, and within it are all the desirable seeds. When I go to sleep she watches over me, and when I die one of the feathers will be placed upon my heart, and I hope the *típoni* will take care of me." From these words we learn how much the *típoni* is venerated, and it is not remarkable, considering the benefits which are thought to come from it, that it is designated "the mother."

solstices; that in which they are absent, from the summer to the winter solstices.¹

I classify the Katcina celebrations into two large groups, which may be called the elaborate and the abbreviated, and have considered them in the following pages.

ELABORATE KATCINAS

Under the head of elaborate Katcinas² may be included:

Soyáluña.

Katcina's return.³

Powámû.

Pálilükoñti.

Nimánkacína.

SOYÁLUÑA

The celebration in the December moon has not as yet been described,⁴ but a large body of material relating thereto is in my hands. In order to give a general idea of its character a brief outline of a characteristic portion of it is inserted in this place. Soyáluña is distinctly a warriors' observance, and has been called the Return Katcina. In one sense it may be so designated, but more strictly it is the return of the War god, regarded as a leader of the gods, and in that recalls the Nahuatl Teotleco, as elsewhere pointed out. The singing of the night songs of the warriors is one of the most effective archaic episodes of the ceremonial of the winter solstice.

In the following account a description of a few events in the celebration of 1891 is introduced:

On the 22d of December of that year most of the men of the villages prepared cotton strings, to the end of which they tied feathers and piñon needles. These were given away during the day to different persons, some receiving from one to two dozen, which they tied in their hair. When a maker of these feathered strings presented one to a friend, he said, as translated, "Tomorrow all the Katcinas to you grant your wishes," holding his bundle vertically and moving it with a hori-

¹I mention this fact since, following Baudelier's studies among the Rio Grande Pueblos, we have something different. The Koshare, which appear to correspond with a group of the Teukúwypkiya, the Paiaikyamû, are regarded by him as the summer and autumn men, while the Cuirana are the spring men. During the late summer and autumn the Teukúwypkiya take no part in the ceremonies at the East mesa of Tusayan. No Teukúwypkiyas appear in the Snake, Flute, Lálakoñti, Mamzrañti, Wüwütcimti, or in certain minor festivals. They appear to be almost universal accompaniments of the Katcina observances.

²The elaboration is of course along different lines of growth, and its characteristics are treated in the several already published articles devoted to these subjects. In none of the abbreviated Katcinas described was there an altar or complicated kiva performance, but on the other hand, in the elaborate Katcinas such secret observances always existed. Siocaleko, described in this article, affords an interesting abbreviated ceremonial with kiva rites.

³This might better be called a composite, abbreviated Katcina.

⁴The late Mr Stephen made extended studies of this presentation in 1892, but his fatal illness prevented his being in the kiva the following winter. It is necessary that a continued study of this dramatization be made before a complete account of the ceremonial calendar can be attempted.

The following men are distinctly called chiefs: Moñ'mowitû of Soyáluña, Kwátoskwa, Šakwistiwa Anawite, Nasimoki, Kwáa, Sikyáuetiwa, and Súpela.

zontal motion. At nightfall each man procured a willow wand from 3 to 4 feet long and looped upon it all the strings which he had received. He then carried his stick to the Mõnkiva and placed it in the rafters, thus imparting to the ceiling the appearance of a bower of feathers and piñon needles.

All the kivas were meeting places of the participants, but the Tátauikyamû met at the Mõnkiva, where the principal festivities took place. Their chief wore a head-dress decorated with symbols of rain-clouds (plate CVIII), and carried a shield upon which was depicted the sun (plate CIV). The chief of a second society carried a shield upon which was drawn a star (plate CIV), and a third chief bore a shield with an antelope drawn upon it. The head-dress of the chief of the Aáwypkiya was adorned with glistening triplex horns, and on his shield was represented an unknown Katcina (plate CIV). The fifth society was Kwákwantû, or warrior, whose chief carried in his hand an effigy of the great snake (Pálülükõñûh) which was carved from the woody stalk of the agave (kwan), from which the society was named. He came from the Tcivato-kiva and on his shield was depicted a Kwákwantû in full costume. The sixth society was the Tadcük'ti or "knobbed heads;" their shield-bearer wore a head-dress like a coronet, while on his shield was drawn a black figure with lozenge-shape eyes. The shield of the chief of the seventh society was adorned with a picture of the Táwamoñwi or sun chief.

After the societies had entered the kiva an invocation to the cardinal points was chanted, and the shield-bearers, in turn, standing over the sípapû, stamped on it. At a signal the society arranged itself into two irregular groups, one on the north, the other on the south side of the main floor. All then vehemently burst forth into a song, the shield-bearer making eccentric dashes among his associates, first to one side and then to the other.

While the song lasted the shield-bearer continued these short, swift rushes, and the assembled groups crouched down and met his dashes by rising and driving him back to the sípapû. He madly oscillated from right to left, that is, from the north to the south side of the room, and swung his shield in rhythm, while those near him beat their feet in time. The shield was dashed from face to face, and the groups made many motions as if to seize it, but no one did more than to touch it with outstretched hands. The movements on both sides were highly suggestive of attack and defense.

At 8 p. m. about one dozen men were collected in the Mõnkiva, among whom was Lésma playing a flageolet. The hatchway was guarded by a tyler, and for a nátcî there was placed there a wicker skullcap ornamented with a pair of imitation mountain-sheep horns (plate CX). Two hours later the room was densely packed with naked men, their bodies undecorated, wearing small eagle plumes attached to the crown of the head. Two women were present. Anawíta, chief

of the Kwákwantû, sat alone on the southern side of the main floor which was clear in the middle, and twelve chiefs, among them Címo, Súpela, and Tcubéma, sat opposite him.

Ten novices from the other kivas entered gorgeously arrayed in white kilts, brilliant crowns of feathers, white body decorations, bearing an imitation squash blossom, with spruce sprigs in their left hands and corn in their right hands. As the chiefs took their places Lésma sprinkled the floor of the room near the ladder with moist valley sand, about an inch deep. The novices stepped from the ladder upon this sand and passed up in front of the chiefs, then squatted before them facing the south, their kilts having been lifted so that they sat on the cold floor.

Anawíta then crossed over to the south side of the room and seated himself at the east end of the line of chiefs.

At the west wall of the kiva a strange altar had been erected. Lésma had piled against the ledge of this part of the kiva a stack of corn, two or more ears of which had been contributed by the maternal head of each family in the pueblo. At either side and in front of the stack of corn shrubbery had been placed. In the space between the top of the corn pile and the roof wands were placed, and to these wands had been fastened many artificial flowers, 4 or 5 inches in diameter, set close together but in no regular lines. There were over 200 of these flowers of different colors, dark-red and white predominating. Nearly in the center of this artificial shrubbery there was a large gourd shell with the convex side turned toward the audience and having an aperture about 8 inches in diameter in its center. Through this opening had been thrust the head of an effigy¹ of Pálülüköñûh, the plumed-head snake, painted black, with a tongue-like appendage protruding from the mouth. When all the assembled priests were seated a moment of solemn stillness ensued, after which Súpela arose, cast a handful of meal toward the effigy of the snake, and said a short prayer in a reverent tone.² Then the head of the snake, which was manipulated by an unseen person behind the altar, was observed to rise slowly to the center of the aperture, and a mellow sounding roar like a blast through a conch appeared to come from the mouth, while the whole head was made to quiver and wave. The sound was of short duration, repeated four times, and then the head reposed again on the lower rim of the ground shell. Presently was heard a sound as of a scapula drawn across a notched stick six times. All the old chiefs in succession cast meal to the effigy and prayed, and in response to each the great snake emitted sounds identical with those mentioned above. The spectators then left the kiva, and a frenzied dance of strange character occurred. The societies from other kivas came in, and the chief of each declaimed in a half-chanting voice which rose to a shriek at the close of a stanza.

¹See figures of this effigy in my account of the Pálülüköñû, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, Oct.-Dec., 1893.

²Here evidently we have a prayer to the deity symbolized by the effigy and not an invocation to the effigy itself.

First, he drew back to the fireplace, and then with a shuffling gait approached the symbolic opening in the floor called the *sípapû*.

Anawíta then shouted at the top of his voice, and the shuffler sprang in the air and vaulted over the *sípapû*. Then everybody in the room shouted loudly and a song in concert followed. A moment later the visiting societies dashed down the ladder, each bearing a splendid shield ornamented with the figure of the sun and a rim of radiating eagle feathers. Each society had its distinctive sun shield, which on entering was handed to the chief. As he received it he stamped on the *sípapû* and a fierce song was sung. Meanwhile two members of the society stood apart from their fellows against the southern wall facing each other, each holding a squash flower emblem in a bouquet of spruce twigs and an ear of corn in his left hand.

Suddenly the fifteen or twenty members of the society drew back from their chief, who then sprang upon the *sípapû* plank, and quickly turning faced them as all burst forth in an ecstatic shouting, with wild flinging of their arms as they approached the shield-bearers. They naturally formed two clusters, and as the shield-bearer dashed his shield in their faces they surged back, to leap again toward him. This seeming assault, wild though it appeared, was maintained in time with the song. The two chieftains joined their men, all in ecstatic frenzy, and one of them, shaking his shield, sprang from right to left, drawing back his assistants in rhythm with the beating of the feet of all on the floor. After a few moments of most exhaustive movements some of the weaker staggered up the ladder, and shortly after one of the chiefs fell fainting to the floor, overcome by exhaustion and the intense heat of the room. One splendid athlete danced with vigor for fully five minutes, and then swept toward the ladder where the assistant was standing in readiness to receive his shield. Another stride and he reached the foot of the ladder and suddenly became as rigid as a corpse. The men who belonged to the *Móñkiva* took no part in this exhaustive dance but stood in readiness to carry those who fainted up the ladder to the cool air outside.

It has been suggested that this assault of the men on the bearer of the sun-shield dramatizes the attack of hostile powers on the sun, and that the object is to offset malign influences or to draw back the sun from a disappearance suggested by its southern declination.¹ In this possible interpretation it is well to consider that immediately preceding it the archaic offerings and prayers to the great snake were made, as described, in the presence of spectators. The idea of hostility of the great snake to the sun is an aboriginal American conception. In the *Maya Codex Cortesianus* (33*b*) the plumed snake is represented²

¹The dance with the sun-shield remotely resembles certain so-called "sun dances," which have been described among the nomads, in which physical exhaustion and suffering are common features. This dance, it must be borne in mind, took place when the sun was at the winter solstice, and the dramatization of attack and defense may have some meaning in connection with this fact.

²On the authority of Cyrus Thomas, "Are the Maya hieroglyphs phonetic?" *American Anthropologist*, Washington, July, 1893, p. 266. His reasoning that the scribe of the codex intended to represent this astronomical event is plausible but not conclusive.

as swallowing the sun as in an eclipse. If Soyáluña is a propitiatory ceremony to prevent the destruction or disappearance of the sun in winter or to offset the attacks of hostile malevolent deities upon him, we can see a possible explanation of the attacks and defenses of the sun as here dramatized.¹ The evil influences of the great snake are met by the prayers to his effigy; the attacks of other less powerful deities are dramatized in the manner indicated.

The following contains a few suggestions in regard to the character of the dramatization in the December celebration. In the prayers to the Plumed Snake his hostility was quieted, and the chiefs did what they could to propitiate that powerful deity, who was the great cause of their apprehension that the beneficent sun (Táwa) would be overcome. Then followed the dramatization of the conflict of opposing powers, possibly representing other deities hostile to our beneficent father, the sun. Although the struggle involved, so far as the participants were concerned, their highest powers of endurance and bodily suffering, the sun-shield or symbol of Táwa had the good fortune to resist the many assaults made upon it.

The introduction of dramatization as an explanation of the warrior celebration is theoretic, therefore not insisted upon, and is at least plausible until a better interpretation is suggested. It has in its support the evidence drawn from a comparative study of ceremonials. In the light of this theory the return and departure of the Katcina has a new significance, and may be regarded as a modified sun myth. At the winter solstice the sun and his attendant deities have reached their most distant point, and turned to come back to the pueblos. In the mid-summer the solar deity approached them; he was near them, and in appreciation of this fact, which means blessings, the poor Hopi made his offering;² danced the Snake dance, asking the snake to bring the rain, believing he was no longer hostile or at enmity with the sun. But the withdrawal of the gods (Farewell Katcinas) could not be delayed by these rites, and the sun each day drew farther from them. The Katcinas (gods) departed; the bright, beneficent summer gave place to cold, dreary winter; life was replaced by death. In this most critical epoch the warriors, the most potent human powers of the pueblo, performed their ceremony to bring back the beneficent god and his train. The Nahuatl priest called a similar ceremony "Teotleco," the god comes—"The dead god is reborn," says Duran. The gods (Katcinas) come, say the Hopi (Soyáluña, all assemblage; derived from co, all; yuñya, assemblage). The Nahuatl priest sprinkled meal on the floor of the teocalli, and when he saw in the meal the footprint

¹There are members of the American race living where the sun disappears at the winter solstice or succumbs to evil powers. Have the Pueblos inherited this rite from people who once lived far to the north?

²The fact that the Snake dance follows the Nimán may be explained as follows: The sun begins to be affected by the Plumed Snake at the Farewell dance, and the growing influence of this divinity is recognized, hence his children (reptiles) are gathered from the fields and intrusted with the prayers of men to cease his malign influence.



HAHAIWÚQTI, NATÁCKA, AND SOYÓKMANA

of the War god, the leader of the divinities, he announced the fact. The Hopi priest still continues to sprinkle sand on the kiva floor during the ceremony.

KATCINA'S RETURN

The first celebration of the Katchinas in the spring, several months after their departure,¹ took place in that division of the year called the Pamüyawû, and is known as Mohti Katchinumpyünya, or "First Katchina assembly." I have called it the Return Katchina. It follows directly after the winter páho making of the Snake-Antelope or Flute societies, which varies in character according to whether the Snake or the Flute society gives the presentation that year. In 1893 it followed the Snake páho making, and in 1894 that of the Flute. It may be called a composite, abbreviated assembly of Katchinas.

During the day Katchina masks were renovated in the kivas of the mesa, and there were visitations at all the kivas by the personators in the coming celebration. Women and children crowded the spectators' quarters of these rooms, and the performances lasted from 10 o'clock in the evening until 2 o'clock of the following morning. Previously to the exhibition in the kivas, men personating different Katchinas visited the following points to make hómoya or meal offerings and to say appropriate prayers:

<i>Kiva</i>	<i>Katchina</i>	<i>Points from which prayers are made</i>	<i>Prayers directed, or meal thrown toward—</i>
Moñ	Kütca anák ²	S. W. Walpi...	Nüvátikyaubi.
Wikwaliobi...	Coyóhimmomoyamu.	do	do.
Nacab	Tcatca kwáina	do	do.
Al.....	Popkotu	N. E. Walpi ...	Kicyuba.
Tcivato	Mücaízru	do	
Puvüntcomo ..	Hüiki.		
	Hehéa.		
Kwinyáptcomo.	Avátchoya mana ...	N. E. Sitcomovi.	do.
Mónete	Tacáb	N. E. Hano....	do.
Pendíte	Humís.		

On the 24th of this month (Pa), as after the Snake ceremonials,³ the Nüitiwa, or struggles of the maids with the men for bowls, etc, took place, except that in this instance it was a struggle with a Katchina and not, as in the Snake observance, between girls and young men.

¹ At the Nimán in the preceding July.

² With Tatchü'kti (Mud-heads).

³ Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology, vol. iv.

From the foregoing table we learn that in the Return Katcina for 1894 the following¹ were personified:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Kütca (white) aña. | 6. Hü'iki. |
| 2. Coyóhim. | 7. Hehéa. |
| 3. Tcakwaina. | 8. Avátchoya. |
| 4. Pópkotu. | 9. Tacáb. |
| 5. Mucaízru. | 10. Humís. |

The accompanying clowns were the Tatcü'kti or knob-head priests. It is an interesting fact that in the celebration of the departure of the Katcinas the clowns took no part, but these priests were important additions to the Siocálako.

The celebration of the Return Katcina, which occurs in the winter Pa moon, is accompanied by elaborate rites performed by either the Snake-Antelope or the Flute fraternity, the society observing it being that which will give its celebration in the summer Pa moon of the same year. A description of these rites naturally falls in an account of the group of unmasked dances. They extend over several days and appear to be wholly distinct from the celebration of the Return Katcina. While these are being performed in the "upper world," the complemental Flute or Snake observances are supposed to be taking place in the "under world," where the summer Pa moon then reigns. Precisely the same relationship is thought to exist between the two as that between the seasons of the north and south temperate zones.

POWÁMŪ

This ceremony is one of the most elaborate in which the Katcinas appear, and for want of a better name may be designated a renovation² or purification observance. In the year 1893 it took place near the close of January and continued for nine days, and in a previous³ article I have mentioned and figured the most striking personages, the monsters or Natáckas, who appear in its presentation (plates CV, CVI, CXI). There are, however, certain other personages new to students of Tusayan ceremonials who are introduced, and I have therefore thought it well to describe the presentation in extenso.

The details of this ceremony in 1893 were as follows:⁴

January 20—Early this morning Hoñyi went to all the kivas and formally announced that the ceremony was soon to begin. There was no public announcement, as no Katcina celebration is made known in

¹Numbers 1, 2, 7, 9 and 10 of this list have been described as abbreviated Katcinas. The symbolism of 3 and 8 is shown in my figures of dolls; of the remainder my information is as yet very limited.

²Comparable with the Nahuatl Ochpanitzli. The points of similarity between the two are the predominance of the Earth goddess and the ceremonial renovation of the sacred gathering places.

³American Anthropologist, Washington, January, 1894.

⁴The accompanying observations on the Powámŭ were made by the late A. M. Stephen in his work for the Hemenway Expedition.

this way, and the Kateinas must not be spoken of in public. Íntiwa and Pauwatiwa began making páhos in the Móñkiva without preliminary ceremony at about 9 a. m., and fifteen other priests removed the masks and redecorated them, after having scraped off the old paint remaining from other ceremonials.

All the masks were finished about 7 p. m., after which Suñoitiwa and the other elders brought fox-skins and other paraphernalia into the kiva, where Kwátakwa, Kópelí, Tcábi, Kákapti, and four or five other men began to decorate their bodies with pigment, using a pale-red iron oxide (cúta) on their legs, knees, and waists. They daubed the whole upper leg above the knee with a white pigment, and drew two lines across the shins, the fore and upper arms, and on each side of the chest and abdomen. The entrance into the kátcínaki, or paraphernalia closet, was open while this took place.

The masks were all ornamented with large clusters of feathers. They were tied to the head with a loose loop across the top which slipped over the crown where the plumage rested, and there were strings at the sides of the mask by which they were attached. The body was ornamented with ribbons, red flannel, and other articles of white man's make, which are innovations.

Kwátakwa, who later personated a Teukúwypkiya, drew a broad band of white clay across his shins, thighs, arms, and body. A great wisp of cornhusks was tied in his hair, which was all brought forward and coiled over the forehead. The others donned their kilts, necklaces, turquoise eardrops, and moccasins. Each one wore a fox-skin hanging tail downward at the loins, and on the left leg below the knee a string of bells, while the majority had garters of blue yarn. Their hair, which was first bound in long cues, wrapped high with strings, was later loosened, hanging in a fine fluffy mass.

Sakwístiwa, who was the púcücútoi or drummer, wore pantaloons held up by a belt of silver disks, and a grotesque mask. All left the kiva immediately after their disguises were completed and assembled in the Móñkiva court.

Íntiwa hurriedly but thoroughly swept the floor of the chamber, during which time a number of women and children came down the ladder, filling the spectators' part of the room. The assembled group of Kateinas prayed and then went out, but about fifteen minutes later returned to the kiva entrance and shook their rattles at the hatchway. "Yuñya ai," "come, assemble," said the old men, and the women invited them to come down, which they did. Kwátakwa, who personated the Nüvákkatcina, entered, followed by ten others. They assembled in a semicircle, each with a rattle in the right hand and a spruce bough in the left. Íntiwa sprinkled with meal all who came, after which they performed a dance, in which, however, their leader did not join.

Before they finished a band of ten men, disguised as Paiutes, carrying bows and arrows, rabbits, and small game which they wished to trade,

came to the hatchway. They had a drummer with a Paiute drum, made of a bundle of skins wrapped in an oblong package, on which he beat with a stick held in both hands. The persons performed a dance, which they accompanied with a song. They likewise talked, cracked jokes, and presented the rabbits to the assembled women.

After them there came others from the Nacabkiva, each with a crook in the left hand and a rattle in the right. These wore grotesque masks, one representing an old woman with a long crooked staff in her hand. Their bodies were whitened and they wore saddle-mat kilts around their loins and tortoise rattles on the right leg. They sang a very spirited song, shaking their rattles as they advanced. These were six in number and were called the Powámûkacinas. Directly after them there came a band of Tadcü'kti, who sang and danced on the roof of the kiva. The old men within repeatedly invited them to enter the room, and a dialogue of some length ensued. Their leader carried a large basket tray in which were four cones made of wood and each mud-head had in his hand a wooden rod and an eagle feather. The leader placed the cones in the middle of the floor in a pile, one above the other, near the fireplace. The others danced around the pile, roaring a song with much dramatic action, and heaped up ears of corn in the tray.

They then brought a young married woman from those assembled to the middle of the floor, where she knelt and tried without success to lift the cones as high as the staff which the leader held beside them. Four or five other women tried in turn, and all failed. The mud-heads then divided the cones into two piles and one of the women lifted them the required height. All the Tadcü'kti¹ then fell down on the floor and kicked their heels in the air, while certain of them stood on their heads for a minute or two. The woman who was successful in lifting the cones received the contents of the tray. The Tadcük'ti then left the room and the Katcinas returned and unmasked, indicating that this part of the ceremony was over.

January 21—During last night there were ceremonials which were not seen in the Mõñkiva, in which it was said the Ahü'lkacina made parallel marks in meal on the four sides of the kiva and upon the ceiling and floor as in the Mamzraúti and other ceremonials. A basin with sprouting beans, which had been planted at the full of the Pamüiya or Pa moon (January 2) and which were about a foot high, was brought from one of the houses opposite the Teivatokiva. The beans, which were growing in a basin, were plucked from the sand, tied into a separate bundle, and given to Ahü'lkacina. A large squirrel-skin was filled with meal and given to him, and he was handed also a wooden staff (mõñ-kohu). The large discoidal mask characteristic of this personage had a pouch-like attachment of buckskin which was pulled over the head,

¹These men were from the Alkiva. They wore the knob-head helmets and their bodies were stained red. Each carried a rattle in the right and an eagle feather in the left hand, and had a pouch of skin or other material slung over the right shoulder. This held corn, beans, and other seeds, which they gave to the women and elders.

upon which was a large cluster of feathers. A white kilt was worn as a cape and the skin of a gray fox hung from the girdle at his loins.

At daylight Ahü'lktacina and Íntiwa returned, passing the gap (Wala) and halting at the pahóki (shrine¹) to deposit certain nakwákwois and páhos. Just as the sun rose the two visited a kiva in Hano. Stooping down in front of it, Ahü'l drew a vertical mark with meal on the inside of the front of the hatchway, on the side of the entrance opposite the ladder. He turned to the sun and made six silent inclinations, after which, standing erect, he bent his head backward and began a low rumbling growl, and as he bent his head forward, raised his voice to a high falsetto. The sound he emitted was one long expiration, and continued as long as he had breath. This act he repeated four times and, turning toward the hatchway, made four silent inclinations, emitting the same four characteristic expiratory calls. The first two of these calls began with a low growl, the other two were in the same high falsetto from beginning to end.

The kiva chief and two or three other principal members, each carrying a handful of meal, then advanced, bearing short nakwákwoi hotomni, which they placed in his left hand while they muttered low, reverent prayers. They received in return a few stems of the corn and bean plants which Ahü'l carried.

Ahü'l and Íntiwa next proceeded to the house of Tetapobi,² who is the only representative of the Bear clan in Hano. Here at the right-hand side of the door Ahü'l pressed his hand full of meal against the wall at about the height of his chest and moved his hand upward.³ He then, as at the kiva, turned around and faced the sun, holding his staff vertically at arm's length with one end on the ground, and made six silent inclinations and four calls. Turning then to the doorway he made four inclinations and four calls. He then went to the house of Nampíyo's mother, where the same ceremony was performed, and so on to the houses of each man or woman of the pueblo who owns a típoni or other principal wími (fetich).

He repeated the same ceremony in houses in Sitcomovi and in Walpi, where Íntiwa left him. Ahü'l entered this pueblo by the north street and passed through the passageway to the Mónkiva. He proceeded to the houses of Kwumawumsi, Nasyúñwewe, Samiwiki, and to all the kivas and the houses of all the leading chiefs.

After visiting all the kivas and appropriate houses mentioned above, Ahü'l went to Kowawainovi (the ledge under Talatryuku) and depos-

¹ With the coiled stone, which resembles the cast of some large fossil shell. I venture to suggest that the reason we find petrified wood in some shrines can be explained in the following manner: In times long past trees were believed by the Hopi to have souls and these breath bodies were powerful agents in obtaining blessings or answering prayers. The fossilized logs now put in shrines date back to the times of which I speak, consequently they are efficacious in the prayers of the present people. This is but the expression of an animistic belief in the souls of trees.

² She has the Bear típoni and other fetiches.

³ The name given for this marking by Ahü'l is ómowñ moñwítúpeadta. It is an appeal to all the gods of the six regions to bless these kivas and houses.

ited in the pahóki all the offerings that he had received, after which he returned to the Móñkiva, divested himself of his ceremonial disguises, and went home.

At 2 p. m. the Nüvák (snow) Katcinas came from the Nacabki, led by Soyóko. They were nine in number and were accompanied by a drummer. All wore bright plumage on their heads and their masks were painted green and white, but that of the drummer was pink. They were adorned with many necklaces, and wore white kilts and gray fox-skins. Yellow stripes were painted on the shoulders, the forearm, on each breast and the abdomen, and the bodies of all were stained red.

After singing and dancing for about five minutes, nine clowns (Tatcii'kti) came from the Álkiva and danced madly around the court, at first independently, but finally keeping step with the Katcinas. They joined in line one behind the other, each grasping the uplifted leg of the man in front of him, and then tumbled pell-mell over one another, shouting and laughing as they did so.¹

At 2.20 a personification of Tcavaíyo, arrayed in a conical black mask with globular eyes and great teeth, entered the kiva. He carried a bow and arrows in his left hand and a saw in his right. His forearms and legs were painted black with white spots. This monster dispersed the clowns, during which many Zuñi words were uttered.

At 2.50 the Katcinas again returned and repeated their former dance in the same way as described. The antics of the Tatcii'kti continued, and the Katcinas appeared again at 4.20 p. m.; then later at 5, when they all departed, not to return. When the Katcinas retired to Wikyátiwa's house at 4 o'clock the clowns went down into the Álkiva and returned in their characteristic procession, the drummer in front, the other eight in two lines of four persons. Each carried on his back a large bundle composed of a fine blanket, cotton cloth, yarn, and all kinds of textile articles of value. One also had the four cones which they had used the night before and a tray of shelled corn of all colors, mixed with various kinds of seeds. They laid the tray in the center of the court and spread a blanket beside it, on which they placed all their bundles. One of their number then piled the cones, one on top of another, and while he was doing this the drummer rapidly beat his drum, while the others shook their rattles and sung vigorously. When the cones had been set up one of the men sought out a girl and brought her to them and told her if she would take hold of the lowest cone with both hands, raise the pile, and set it back in place without letting any of the cones fall she should have all the wealth piled on the blanket. But the least jar tumbled the cones down, and each one of the half dozen or more girls to whom they made the same offer failed in turn. Then they invited the youths to try, and several essayed, but none were able to perform the feat. So the prize, doubtless designedly, was left in the original owner's hands. They then brought a blanket full of hoyiani

¹ The performances with the clowns were not unlike others in which they appear.



A. HOEN & CO., LITH.

DOLL OF CALAKO MANA.

and placed the cones in two piles, but even then none of the girls succeeded in carrying it. No one was allowed a second trial. Finally one youth, Macakwáptiwa, carried them around safely and won the prize. He was closely followed around the pillar by the Tatchü'kti shaking their rattles, singing and crying, "Don't fall, don't fall," and when he laid them safely down in their original place all the Tatchü'kti fell down as if dead. Íntiwa then ran and obtained ashes from a cooking pit and placed them on a private part of their bodies. Then all the clowns got up and danced around with their usual pranks.

A tray full of corn and other seeds which was set beside the cones was obtained by the Tatchü'kti from Nakwaíyumsi, the chief priestess of the Katchina clan. At the close of the ceremony Íntiwa distributed these seeds in small handfuls to all the women spectators, to be planted the coming season. It was not learned that these seeds were consecrated by the priestess, but they were part of those planted in the kivas on the night of the 21st.

January 22—The younger men brought sand from a mound¹ and threw it down in a pile at the east of the kiva, and each man, as he came into the room with his basin, box, or other receptacle, filled it with this sand. He then thickly sprinkled the surface of the sand with seeds of every kind. Some had several vessels which they thus planted, and the old wife of Soyóko gave her grandson a bag of large white beans to plant for her.² The basins were well watered, a hot fire was kept in the kiva, and the hatch or entrance was entirely covered with a straw mat to retain the heat in the chamber, making it a veritable hothouse.

January 24—No ceremonies occurred today, but constant fires were maintained in the kivas, from the heat of which the beans soon sprouted. It was understood that children must not be told that beans were growing in the kivas nor be allowed to look into the room.

January 25—The Tatchü'kti went out from the Álkiva this morning for wood, making their way northward, past Wala and along the mesa to the cedar grove. They returned at evening, but left the wood they had gathered at the gap.³ There was no singing nor dancing in the kivas during the night.

January 26—During the morning the Tatchü'kti went to Wala to bring in the wood they had collected yesterday. Before their departure they covered their bodies with pinkish clay, put on an old kilt (kwáca),⁴ blue leggings, and masks with knobs. Each carried an eagle-tail feather in the left and a small gourd in the right hand. They

¹ The mound from which it was obtained is close to the base of the foothills eastward from Walpi, and all the sand for all the kivas was obtained from this particular mound.

² During the festival the women clip the hair of their children. The hair is cut over the entire cranium of the little boys, but in the case of the girls a fringe is left around the base of the head, especially on each side, for the characteristic whorls worn by maidens.

³ The gap in the East mesa, known as Wala, whence the name of the pueblo of Walpi at the western end of the same height.

⁴ Woman's blanket without decoration.

returned along the trail, marching in single file, with the loads of wood on their backs, stamping their feet as they came. They likewise shook their rattles and occasionally turned and walked backward.

They first assembled around each of the kiva hatchways in Hano, singing and chaffing one another, and were sprinkled with meal by the kiva chiefs. Proceeding onward to Sitcomovi, they went to the entrances of the kivas of this pueblo and were there sprinkled with meal by the chiefs as they sang their curious songs, accompanying them with a stamping of the feet and a rotating movement of the body. It was after 1 o'clock when they arrived at Walpi, for they halted a short time at the neck of the mesa to arrange their loads. As they entered the pueblo they advanced along the south street singing as they went.

At the entrance to Teívatokiva they stopped and told Pauwatíwa a facetious story of their wood-gathering. He sprinkled them with meal, and they then went on to the dance court and set down their bundles, all the time making a droll byplay. They then separated into parties of two or three members and visited the houses of several women, with whom they left one or more bundles of wood. These women had previously prepared nakwákwociis, which they gave to the clowns with a handful of meal.

After all the wood had been distributed, with much rollicking fun, several women gave them food, and the small parties of Tatcü'kti resumed their songs and marched through the dance court, where they all assembled. One of them was a drummer, who sat in the middle of the court, and the others danced about him in a circle, singing a Zuñi song. Pauwatíwa, Íntiwa, Tcósra, and Soyóko sprinkled them with meal, and the first-mentioned invited the women who had been given wood to approach, which they did, sprinkling the individual Tatcü'ktis with meal. Their masks were then harshly removed and thrust into a bag, tied up in a bundle, and carried to the house of Wikyátiwa. Most of the food which they had received was carried down into the Álkiva, which was the assemblage place of the Tatcü'kti in this ceremony.

In all the kivas the beans had sprouted and were now called házrü (angular), possibly so named from the angle formed by the cotyledons with the stem. When they had grown somewhat higher they were called wupáhazrü (great or long, angular).

January 28—No ceremonials were observed on this day.

January 29—This was called the first ceremonial day of the Powámuh. About 11 o'clock last night the Natácka donned their masks in the Álkiva, and the man who took the part of Haháiwüqti, the mother of the Natáckas, put on her disguise and took her long juniper bough. Háhawe went up the ladder, standing on it with his shoulders just above the hatchway, while the mother of the monsters stood at the foot of the same in the room. Assuming a hollow falsetto voice, in which the mother of the Natáckas always speaks, she announced that

she was ready to visit the children. Háhawe shouted his replies to her in a voice audible through the pueblo that the children were all asleep and that she had better put off her visit to them until the morning. A dialogue, the real object of which was to announce to the children that the Natáckas had arrived, was maintained for five minutes, and Háhawe then went down the ladder; the Natáckas and Hahaiwüqti took off their masks and all laid down to sleep.

About 4.20 p. m. the Tewa personification of Hahaiwüqti, accompanied by one Natácka, came to Walpi and went to Kókyanwü'qti's and Kele's houses, giving to the little girls a few seeds and a snare of yucca shred. They dressed the Walpi Hahaiwüqti, Natáckas, and Soyókmana in the Álkiva at 4.25 p. m. Hahaiwüqti carried, besides a whitened gourd ladle, a basket (póota) containing two ears of corn, and two boiled hoyiani, some squash seeds, and a small bundle of sticks, of which she gave one to each little girl, who will later redeem it by presenting Hahaiwüqti with some hótomni. She gave each little boy, who will also redeem it with some kinds of game, a shred of yucca looped to a stick at the butt end (a rude snare). Natácka and Náamû wore cloth shirts, trousers and buckskin leggings, and two buckskins hung as loose mantles over their shoulders. The former carried a tortoise-shell rattle on his right leg, and had a bow and arrows in his left hand and an arrow in the right. Soyókmana had the hair smeared with white clay. She wore a loose mantle and whistled as Natácka hooted. Hahaiwüqti wore a fox-skin around the neck. The hands of all were whitened. Soyókmana wore a hideous black mask and was dressed in dilapidated clothing. She had a large knife in her left hand and a crook in her right (plates CV and CVI).

The Natácka helmets had turkey-tail feathers¹ closely radiating vertically at the crown, and they wore a cloth shirt and trousers, with belt with silver disks. Each had buckskin leggings and wore a fox-skin around the base of the mask; two large buckskins hung as mantles over the right shoulder. He carried a bow and arrows² in the left hand and with his right hand he received the food and placed it in the tozrúki³ slung over his right shoulder. Soyókmana was personified by a lad of 12 years, wearing a woman's blanket (kwáca) and a buckskin mantle. He had a nakwákwoçi, stained red, tied to the scalp lock.

A similar group, all costumed identically, was prepared in each of the three villages. The group of Tewa personifications went to every house in that pueblo and then to the houses in other villages where men from Hano have married. The groups of the other towns go first to the houses of their own pueblo and then to the houses in the other villages where men have transferred themselves by marriage.

When the Walpi group had finished their exercises at Hano and Sitoomovi they went back to Walpi and proceeded along the front side of

¹ At the tip of the lowest tail feather on each side a nakwákwoçi stained with oúta was hung.

² Natácka carried a handsaw in the left hand.

³ Bandoleer.

their pueblo to their own kiva, where they disrobed about dark. The object of the exhibition was to frighten children who exhibited fear of them, but children 6 years of age or thereabouts were somewhat familiar with them, and while it was evident they held the monsters in considerable awe they tried to assume a bold front when receiving the seeds and snares.¹

At 8.30 a man personifying Tūmákcacina ran through Walpi from the Móñkiva toward Wala, emitting hoots as he went. A full half hour after, about 9 o'clock, a group of masked but uncostumed men wrapped in blankets went to the kiva hatches and uttered most ferocious groans for four or five minutes. This was done in an informal manner, but was said to be prescribed ceremonially.

January 30—Between 7 and 8 o'clock Wikokuitkacina emerged from the Álkiva, passed around Walpi to the east end of the pueblo, and then down through the north lane, past Íntiwa's house, under the passageways back to the Álkiva. His body was painted white and he wore a blanket tied with a girdle (wukokwena), a fox-skin dangling at his loins. Nothing was elicited in relation to this event.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock uncostumed groups of Tatcū'kti went to the entrances of the kivas and laid themselves prone upon the hatch, their heads projecting over its edges. Several of them uttered their characteristic growls and pretended to snarl at and worry one another, possibly imitating ferocious animals or monsters. One of them carried on a dialogue with some one in the kiva.

At 9 o'clock Tūmac and two Tuñwúpkacina (masked but uncostumed) made the tour of the pueblos, emitting peculiar hoots. Between 9 and 10 o'clock Owana zrozrokacina and Wupámokacina appeared separately, each making a solitary tour of the village. They were not masked, but so wrapped in blankets that their masks were not visible.

At 10 o'clock the Hano clowns and Natačka group came to Walpi and performed the same ceremony as the Walpi group, which has been described. There was informal singing in all the kivas.

January 31—During this day the masks of Hililikacina and Soyókmana were painted. After dark a masked man (Kacina not known) rushed through the pueblo, and shortly after Tūmac and her two sons (Tuñwúpkacina), unmasked, ran through the pueblo hooting. About 9 o'clock delegates from Sitcomovi, with a drum and rattles, made the rounds of Walpi and carried on a dialogue with the kiva chief.

At 10 o'clock 18 Teakwainakacinas came to the Móñkiva from Hano. They were naked, save a breechcloth, but their bodies and limbs were ornamented with white zigzag markings. They wore fillets of a dozen or more yucca bands around the head, and necklaces in profusion on their necks. They passed in succession into the kivas, dancing a few minutes in each, and returned home shortly before midnight.

¹Habaiwūkti did not enter any of the houses, but merely went up the ladder two or three rungs and stood there just high enough to bring her helmet on a level with the first terrace. She then gave her shrill hoot, and when the women had brought out their children spoke to them in high falsetto.

February 1—Several tilus (dolls) were carved in the kivas, to be distributed to the children as in the Nimánkateina. Tumac and her sons went around the pueblo about half past 7 o'clock, as on former evenings.

In the Teivatokiva 14 men and a boy about 10 years of age, with Pauwatiwa as chief, whitened their faces, bound a fillet around their foreheads, and made curious crescentic marks on their cheeks. They afterward danced and sang. Sitcomovi priests, beginning at the Mónkiva, made formal visits to each kiva in Walpi. There were 12 of these men and they were decorated like those of the Teivatokiva. They sang Siohúmiskateina songs, but wore no masks. They later visited the Sitcomovi kivas. The Teivatokiva people then put on their kilts, tied on their turtle-shell rattles, took their juniper staffs and gourd rattles, and, led by Pauwatiwa, went to the Álkiva, and later to all the other kivas, where they danced and sang Pawik (duck) Katcina songs. Pauwatiwa sprinkled meal on the Katcinas from Sitcomovi before they began, and the chiefs of the other kivas did the same to those who visited them before they opened their dance.

February 2—This afternoon 8 girls, assisted by the men, washed the walls of the Mónkiva with a thiu mud made of valley sand. The following girls took part in this work: Kaiyónsi, Humisi, Humíta, Lénho (a woman), Leúnaisi, Tuvéwaisi, Hokwáti, and Hónka. The girls also made mud designs, lightning symbols, and hand-prints on the rafters of the room.

Tuñwúpkateina¹ (personified by Takála) arrayed himself as follows: He donned trousers made of cotton cloth and wrapped himself in a blanket, under which he concealed all his paraphernalia. He received two bunches of yucca with about twelve or fifteen leaves in each bunch, and concealing them under his blanket hastened off to the northeastern end of the village. There he arrayed himself, and at 5 p. m. he returned, running back and hooting as he came, until he halted at the court, where he kept trotting up and down, marking time. He wore a mud-head helmet with a black band across the eyes, and parrakeet feathers on the top of the head. Turkey-tail feathers were arranged radiating horizontally from the crown to the back of the head. He wore also a cotton shirt and a kilt girded with a white belt (wukókwená). He had yellow clay on his legs and a tortoise-shell rattle below each knee. His moccasins were painted black. A whip or bunch of yucca with the butts in front was held in each hand.

The children who were flogged were brought to Tuñwup in the following way: The mother, sometimes accompanied by the father, led the child to the court, and if it were a boy the godfather took him in charge. He gave the lad an ear of corn, his teótenunwa, and a handful of prayer meal, and led the frightened child close up to Tuñwup. The godfather

¹A figure of Tuñwúpkachina with his pet (pókema) appears on the reredos of the altar of the Nimánkateina. (See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, No. 1.) The sprig which he is depicted as bearing in the hand was supposed to represent a cornstalk, but from the new observations of the personification of Tuñwup there is no doubt that a yucca whip was intended.

prompted the boy, who cast his handful of meal on or toward Tuñwup. The godfather also cast meal on the same personage and then divested the boy of all his clothing and presented the lad with his back toward Tuñwup, who all this time had maintained his trotting motion but without advancing. Tuñwup then plied one of his yucca wands vigorously, giving the boy five or six forcible lashes on the back. After this was over the godfather withdrew the screaming boy and tied a nakwákwoei to his scalplock. The mother was standing by and hurriedly covered her son, frightened with his punishment, and led him home, but the mother was careful to see that he carried his *teótenunwa* in his hand.

If the child were a girl, her godmother led her up to Tuñwup, but her little gown was not taken off; only the mantle was removed for the flogging. Notwithstanding this, however, the blows were delivered with enough force to cause considerable pain, but her crying probably resulted as much from fright as from physical suffering. The godmother led the little girl back to her home, after having cast meal on Tuñwup, and was very careful that the child carried her *teótenunwa*.

There were five children of age varying from about eight to ten years who were thus flagellated. After each boy was flogged the godfather cast meal toward Tuñwup and then held out his own bared arms and legs successively, which Tuñwup lashed four or five times with all his might; but no women were submitted to this flagellation. Several men who had some ailment also went up to Tuñwup, and casting meal upon him received lashes on their bare arms and legs.

The man who personified Tuñwup exercised considerable discretion in performing his duty. In the case of a little girl who showed more than ordinary fear, he simply whirled his yucca whip over her head without touching her, and then motioned her away; but on the arms and legs of the adults he laid his whip without restraint. When all had been flagellated, Pauwatiwa came up from his kiva and gave Tuñwup a handful of meal and a nakwákwoei, who then trotted off, going outside the pueblo, possibly to preserve the illusion among the children that he was a real Katcina who had visited the pueblo from afar.

For four successive mornings the flagellated child was taken to a point on the mesa called Talatiyuka and there deposited a nakwákwoei in a shrine and cast meal toward the sun. During this time the child was not permitted to eat salt nor flesh, but on the fourth day a little before sunset this abstinence ceased, and the child might henceforth look upon Katcinas and sacred objects in the kivas without harm.

The primary significance of the flogging seems to be that until children have acquired sufficient intelligence or are eight or ten years of age, they are made to believe that the Katcinas, appearing at each dance, are superhuman visitors, and they are never permitted to see an unmasked Katcina. When they have matured enough or have sufficient understanding, they are instructed that the real¹ Katcinas have

¹As I have already pointed out, the youth who dons the mask of a Katcina is believed to be for the time transformed into a deity (soul).

long since ceased their visits to mankind and are merely impersonated by men; but they acquire that knowledge at the expense of a sound flogging, such as I have just described.

At 10 oclock six Teü'tekütü (clowns), accompanied by Píptuku, who was dressed as an old woman and wore an old mask, passed about the pueblo from one kiva to another. These six persons entered the Móñkiva, and Píptuku, after some urging, followed them. One of the Teü'tekütü was sent out, and the other five in succession took a pinch of ashes in the left hand from the fireplace, and poisoning it as if taking aim at something through the hatch struck off the ashes with the right hand.

A few minutes later four Wuwíyomokateinas wearing characteristic masks appeared at the kiva hatch with turkey feathers radiating vertically around the upper part. They carried móñkohus¹ and an undressed skin pouch. Their leader, Silánktiwa, was without costume, and Cálako, Kwátakwa, and seven other unmasked persons followed. Their faces and bodies were whitened, the hair hanging loose, and limbs bare. They wore plumes of gaudy feathers on their heads, were arrayed in white kilts, and held crooks in their hands. A personage called Eótoto² preceded them, and Hahaíwüqti, continually talking, followed. The procession was closed by a warrior (Kaléktaka),³ who carried a bundle of arrows in one hand and a bow and arrows in the other, and frequently hooted. The uncostumed chorus, composed of about twelve persons, accompanied by a drummer, followed in a cluster.

When the leading Wuwíyomo came to the Móñkiva he threw down the hatchway a ball of moist meal, which struck the middle of the floor. After this announcement he was clamorously invited by those within the chamber to enter, which he did, followed by the others. Each Wuwíyomo bore a bundle of deer scapulæ, which he clanked as a rattle, and all were sprinkled with meal by Íntiwa as they entered the kiva. They afterward filed to the western side of the room where the plants were growing; they sang for about five minutes, all standing.

When Eótoto entered the chamber he made on the floor with meal four symbols of the rain-cloud, one in advance of the other, and each of the Cálakos squatted on one of these symbols. The chorus, remaining outside, continued their song for a few minutes, while the Wuwíyomos were singing. Those who had last entered the kiva then passed out in the same order, and as they did so were sprinkled with meal, and each of the four Wuwíyomos was handed a nakwákwoci. They then visited the other Walpi kivas, where no observations

¹Móñ, chief; kohn, wood—a chieftain's badge.

²Eótoto ("Aiwótoto") has been described in my account of the daybreak ceremonials of the Farewell Katsina (Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. II, No. 1). Hahaíwüqti has been figured and described in my article on Certain Personages who Appear in a Tussyan Ceremony (American Anthropologist, January, 1894).

³A society comparable with the "Priesthood of the Bow" at Zuñi. This society is a priesthood apparently with much less power than that of the neighboring Cibolan pueblo, but its chief Pauwátiwa is powerful, and, it may be said, en passant, a most genial and highly valuable friend to have in ethnologic work at Walpi.

were made, but the same ceremonials were probably repeated. After this they went off to perform the same ceremonies in the kivas of other villages on the mesa.

At 11 o'clock a group of 12 men and a boy from Hano, costumed but accompanied by an uncostumed fiddler,¹ visited all the kivas in succession. Their bodies were painted white and they had plumes in their hair, but were unmasked. Each wore a fox-skin depending from the loins, was barefoot, and carried a gourd rattle in the right hand and a sprig of spruce in the left hand. Their visits were expected, but they personated no especial Katcina, and after their departure the men in the Mõnkiva rehearsed a song.

February 3—No ceremonial took place throughout the day. The walls of the kivas were renovated by the girls with a wash of mud, and every kiva on the mesa was replastered in this way during the festival.

February 4—This day the manufacture of tihus (dolls) went on in all the kivas, and there was a continuation of the replastering and decoration of the walls of these chambers.

At 9 o'clock a dialogue similar to that above recorded on the 29th of January took place between Hahaíwüqti and the kiva chief. The former wished to go among the children, but was told that it was very dark and the children were asleep. She was finally prevailed on to wait until the morrow.

At 10 p. m. 20 unmasked persons,² men and women with flowing hair, from Sitcomovi visited all the Walpi kivas. Each of the male personators carried a narrow green tablet (pavaíyikacı),³ fringed with long red hair and decorated with a symbol of the sun painted in colors. Each had a gourd rattle, and a stick about 2 feet long, to the end of which was attached half a gourd painted to represent a squash blossom, was held in the right hand. The 10 men personating women were not costumed. The leader carried a large Oraibi basket tray with a broad, brightly colored handle. In this was an effigy of a bird.

He set this tray on the floor near the fireplace, and after the chief of the kiva had sprinkled the visitors with meal a male and a female personator advanced from the western end of the kiva to the fireplace. The man picked up the basket on the butt end of his stick and presented it to the woman, who held it in both hands and danced a few moments, while all the others sang. She then laid the tray down and passed to the northern side of the chamber, the man retiring to the southern side. After the other couples had performed the same ceremony they left the kivas.

Immediately after their departure 28 personators from Hano entered. These consisted of male and female deities, the latter personated by men. The former passed to the southern, the latter to the northern

¹ His fiddle was a notched stick which he scraped with a sheep scapula.

² Kawaíkakatcinas. Kawaíka is a Hopi name for the Laguna people of Keresan stock.

³ See figure in Naácnaiya, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, July-September, 1892.



A. HOEN & CO., LITH.

KATOINA MASK WITH SQUASH BLOSSOM APPENDAGE AND RAIN CLOUD SYMBOLISM.

side of the kiva. Each of the male personages wore a yucca fillet on his head and his legs were decorated with clay streaks; he wore white kilts and girdles, with dependent fox-skins. They also had tortoise rattles on the legs and carried a gourd rattle in the right hand. Their costume was as follows: They were without masks; the hair was loose and an imitation of a squash blossom was tied therein. The face was not colored, but on the right shoulder curving to the breast was daubed a mass of blue and green pigment. On the left shoulder and over the breast they were painted with yellow, and bright red streaks were drawn from the neck down the center of the breast and middle of the back. The upper part of the right arm was colored yellow, the left forearm green, the upper part of the left arm green. These colors were reversed on the right arm. The right leg also was yellow and the left leg was green with two contrasting bands below the knee. The hands, waist, and upper portion of the thighs were whitened. They likewise wore white kilts tied with girdles (*wukokwéna* and *nanelkwéna*). A gray fox-skin depended from the loins. Each had a tortoise-shell rattle on the right leg and on the left leg generally a garter to which small sleigh-bells were attached. Their moccasins were blue or green. In his right hand each carried a blue or green painted rattle, and in the left a sprig or small branch of spruce. Those personating females neither wore fox-skins nor held anything in the left hand. The female personators carried in the left hand a bundle of straw held well up before the face. After they had been sprinkled with meal they began to sing, and the couple in the center on the west side joined hands, holding them above the head—the female with the palm turned up, the male with the palm down and fingers imbricated. They advanced close to the fireplace and then returned to their respective places. The personators executed this figure four times in sequence and then went out.

Immediately after this presentation the delegation from the *Móñkiva*, led by a masked person, entered. The bodily decorations of these were not uniform; one had a figure of a gourd drawn on his breast, another zigzag lines, and still another parallel bars. The males carried a gourd rattle in the right hand; they wore no fillets on the head but allowed the hair to hang loosely. The female personators held a bunch of straw¹ and a sprig of spruce in the left hand, carrying it high up before the face. They sang the same song and executed the same figure as that already mentioned in the account of the presentation by the men from the village of Hano. The groups finished their visits at about midday.

¹The signification of the bundle of straw may be that here we have the symbolic broom of the purification ceremony, if I am right in my interpretation that the *Powámū* is a lustral ceremony. In Nahuatl ceremonial, *Ochpanitzli*, the mother, *Toei*, carries the broom, which is her symbol in this celebration, as shown in Seler's interpretation of the Humboldt manuscripts. In this connection the reader is referred to the facts mentioned elsewhere in this article that all the kivas are replastered in the course of the *Powámū*.

February 5—At earliest dawn (5 a. m.) either the chief or one of his elders roused all the sleepers in the kiva, and each spread his blanket beside his basin of growing plants. He then carefully plucked the plants, one by one, so as not to bruise either stalk or roots. He laid them on the blanket in an orderly pile, the leaves together. The sand which remained in the basin was carried to some place where children would not see it, and the vessels were dried before the kiva fire and hidden away in the houses out of sight of the prying eyes of the young ones.

Nearly all the plants were tied with a yucca shred and a sprig of spruce (symbol of a Katcina), in neat bundles, leaving loose bights of the yucca by which to hold them. Each priest also tied up the dolls which he had made. All traces of the soil in which the corn had been forced to sprout had disappeared long before dawn.

The presents (dolls) which were made in the Tcivatoki were then distributed by a man personifying Pawikkatcina, under the instruction of those who had fashioned them. The distributing Katcinas of the Nacabki were two Nüvákcinas,¹ and the same did this duty with the dolls in the Möükiva. For the Álkiva two Tcoshühwüh performed this duty. These Katcinas and two persons called Kawaika (Keres) from Sitcomovi bustled about the pueblo on their errands and the distribution was finished about sunrise. The men did not speak when they approached a house with their gifts, but hooted after the customary manner of Katcinas.

Almost half an hour before sunrise the Soyókmana passed around the kivas, holding a dialogue at the hatchways with the chiefs inside. She wore a black conical mask with red mouth and white teeth, and was costumed as an old woman. In the right hand she bore a crook 7 feet long, at the end of which were tied many shells. In the left hand she carried a knife smeared with rabbit blood. Hü'hüwüh also held a dialogue with the kiva chiefs and made gifts of watermelons and squashes to various persons.

At 11.30 a. m. Soyókmana, Habaíwüqti, and the Natáckas (plate CVI) made a visit to all the houses. They were followed by two Hehéakatcinas² with bags and pouches of food recently received, and after them followed three black and two white Natáckas. These five went together³ and were constantly in motion, moving or beating time with their feet.

The strange company went to each house demanding food, and when it was refused or poor quality offered the Natáckas uttered a hoot like an owl, and at the same time Soyókmana whistled. They refused to leave a house until proper food had been given them, and if a child who had not been ceremonially flogged appeared with the mother its eyes were shaded by the mother's hand while she presented food to the Natáckas.

¹ Elision of the syllable *ka* in this and similar compounds is common.

² The symbolism of their masks and their dance is described in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, No. 1.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock Íntiwa, assisted by Hoñyi and Letaiyo, finished making twelve sets of cákwā (blue) páhos, most of which were composed of two sticks of uniform diameter, and only one set showed the flat face characteristic of the female. They likewise made twelve nakwákwoçi hotomni, consisting of a twig about 2 feet long from which four nakwákwoçis depended at intervals, and twelve simple feathered strings. When these were finished Íntiwa placed them in a tray of meal beside the sípapû and brought from the paraphernalia closet of the kiva six ears of corn of different colors, his típoni, two nákwipis and as many aspergills, two or more rattles, and other bundles containing the remaining paraphernalia of the cloud-charm altar.

At 1.30 p. m. he placed a small hillock of sand back of the sípapû and deposited his típoni upright upon it; he then made the cloud-charm altar,¹ arranging the corn at the ends of six radial lines of meal in a sinistral circuit, placing two crystals upon each ear of corn except that corresponding to the nadir. The aspergills (makwámpis) also were laid down beside each ear of corn except that which was symbolic of the nadir. The sequence of ceremonials which then took place about this altar was as follows:

1. Ceremonial smoke.
2. Prayers.
3. Liquid poured into the crenelated vessel or nákwipi.
4. Songs.

Synopsis of ceremonial events during the songs:

- (a) Meal shaken from the six aspergills into the liquid.
- (b) Whistling into the liquid through a turkey bone, and asperging to the cardinal points with the same, six times in all.
- (c) Meal cast into liquid, on tray of páhos and over the típoni in ceremonial circuit.
- (d) Pollen cast on the same objects in sequence.

5. Prayers.

6. Ceremonial smoke into the liquid with two pipes.

At the close of this observance Hahaiwüqti and the Natáckas came to the kiva hatch and a comic dialogue ensued. She demanded meat and other food, and the elders went up the ladder and refused to grant her wishes. Natácka hooted and Soyókmaua whistled back, and then the Hehéakacinas threw down the end of their lariat, and those in the kiva below hung a piece of sheepskin and horns of goats to it.

Íntiwa then called two youths, and without anointing them² gave them instructions where to deposit the offerings which had been conse-

¹See Nimáncateina altar, called nananivo poñya, six-directions altar. The whole ceremony is an invocation to the six world-quarter deities.

²It is generally the custom to anoint the feet, hands, etc. with honey when a person is sent out with offerings to shrines. (See "Snake dance," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. iv.)

³See cloud-charm altar in other ceremonials. It is redundant in this place to repeat these accounts, as the variations are not important. (See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. ii, No. 1.) The Powámû altars are the same as the Niman, q. v.

crated on the cloud-charm altar.³ One youth was told to deposit his at shrines in a circuit, beginning with Tawapa (Sun spring), and the other at Kokyanba (Spider spring) and Tuveskyabi. Two sets of offerings were left, and these with Katcinas were placed on the southwest point of the mesa. This closed the ceremony, for Íntiwa then replaced the plug of the sípaptû and tied up his típoni and other paraphernalia.

The Natácka group went to the Wikwaliobikiva, and there Sóyoko gave each of them and the Hehéakatecina a handful of meal and a nakwákwoçi. Taláhoya blew puffs of smoke over them. They then marched around the houses to the Nacabki, along the plaza to Tcivatoiki, and then to Álkiva, where they begged for meat and held comic dialogues with different chiefs. At the last-mentioned place there came from the kiva six men arrayed and costumed as the Mamzraúti tcatumakaa, who, singing as they went, marched to the dance court and halted close to the edge of the cliff, facing the houses. The Natácka group accompanied them, and two men personifying Hehéakatecinas assumed erotic paroxysms and lay down on their backs on the ground close to the disguised Mamzraúti personages, endeavoring to lift up their kilts and performing obscene actions. Then they rolled on the ground in assumed fits. The Natáckas, as usual, maintained their prancing step around them, and occasionally Soyókmana thumped them with the butt end of her crook. After about five minutes of this exhibition the Hehéa seized the Mamzraúti personators and tumbled them into an indiscriminate heap, fell on top of them, and did other acts which need not be mentioned. The Natácka then retired for food, and, unmasking in the kiva, did not again appear.

February 6—Food was carried to all the kivas yesterday morning, but there was neither dancing nor ceremonials.

February 7—No ceremony took place on this day, but the kiva chief and the Hehéakatecinas played a curious game of ball called sunwuwínpa, in which the ball is attached to a looped string. The player lay on his back and, passing the loop over the great toe, projected the ball back over his head. Two groups of these players were noted.

The following Katcinas were personated in the Powámû of 1893:¹

Hahaíwüqti, Ancient Woman,	Wuwíyomo.
Mother of Monsters.	Pawík, Duck.
Natácka, Monster.	Nüvák, Snow.
Soyókmana, Attendant of Natácka.	Hehéa.
Tuñwúp, Flogging Katcina.	Mamzraúti tcatumakaa.
Ahü'l.	Tcavaíyo, Giant Elk
Tümác, Mother of Ahü'l.	Wupámo, Great Cloud.
Wuyókwati.	Owanazrozro, Stone Devourer.
Tcakwaína.	

¹ As the number of these personages was large in this presentation, this summary mention of their names may be of interest.

PÁLÜLÜKOŇTI

The screen drama of the PálülüköŇti ceremonial as performed in 1893 has already been described.¹

The following personifications of Katcinas appeared in the PálülüköŇti in 1893:

Coyóhim, All.	Hokyaña.
Pawík, Duck.	Húhian, Barter.
Tacáb, Navaho.	Cálako, Cálako.

Its presentation in other years differs very materially from the description given.

In the celebration of 1891 a wooden figure representing Cálako was introduced with two carved marionettes, which were manipulated as if grinding corn, and serpent effigies were thrust through the sun opening of the screen. These were likewise used in the presentation in 1894.²

The celebration of PálülüköŇti in 1894 was controlled by the Badger people, and the exhibition of the screen drama occurred March 16. A number of slabs with symbolic figures of Táwa (the sun), and Cótükinuñwa (the heart of all the sky), and two small effigies of PálülüköŇh (plumed snake) were introduced. The two mechanical figurines, which were so manipulated as to appear to be in the act of grinding corn on metates, represented Cálakomanas, and were made by Tótcí of the Badger people.

This variation from year to year, it will be observed, preserves without change the various deities introduced and recalls what I have already written about the variations in altars of the Nimán in different villages. In stage effects latitude is permissible, but there is no change in the deities represented. Something similar occurs in the Mamzraúti, where, in 1891, tablets with Palahíkomana symbols were used, while in 1893 women represented that personage.

So far as I know the essential personages³ to be represented by symbolism or by men in disguise, are:

Táwa, Sun.
 Mii'iyawúh, Moon.
 Cótokinuñwa, Heart of the Sky.
 Hahaíwüqti, Ancient Mother.
 PálülüköŇti, Plumed Snake.
 Cálako taka or mana, Corn Man or Maid.
 Various Katcinas, mentioned above, but these may vary year by year.
 Másauwúh, Fire God.
 Various Teukúwypkiyas, Clowns.

¹Journal of American Folk-lore, October-December, 1893.

²It will thus be seen that the details of this ceremony vary in different years, but the variation depends simply on the kiva presenting it. It is commonly said that the original wimi of the PálülüköŇti (Great Plumed Snake) were brought to Tusayan by the Water people from the far south. Other observations support that statement.

³To these must be added the constant accompanying priests in all ceremonials, who are unmasked and do not personate supernatural beings.

NIMÁNKATCINA

An outline of the ceremonials attending the departure of the Katcinas from three of the Tusayan villages has already been given elsewhere.¹ From new observations it is found that much remains to complete this account, but the main events have already been described. While the dance resembles the abbreviated Katcinas, from which it should not be widely separated, the altar and kiva ceremonials place it in the group of elaborate Katcinas or those with complicated secret usages. It is only in those villages in which are preserved the wimi of the Kachina móñwi that this celebration can occur, although, as we shall later see, abbreviated Katcinas are not so limited. It will probably be found that any abbreviated Katcina may be used for the public dance of the Nimán, but no abbreviated Katcina can have the secret ceremonials of the Nimán without becoming the same. When the Katcina chief, Íntiwa, sets up his altar it is but natural that any set of Katcinas may give the public dance, which, while a necessary accompaniment, is far from being prescribed as to kind.

ABBREVIATED KATCINAS

CHARACTERISTICS

This group includes a large number of simple ceremonials in which a masked dance in public is the most significant part. The general character of these observances may be seen by a consultation of my article, "A few summer ceremonials at the Tusayan pueblos."² The distinctive name is determined by the characters personified as indicated by the symbolic markings of the masks or by other paraphernalia. No elaborate kiva ceremonials are performed.³

All the abbreviated presentations have certain common features which run through them. These characteristics may be learned from my description in the article on "The summer ceremonials,"⁴ but in order to make them more prominent I have mentioned them in an appended footnote.²

The special Katcina celebrated is designated by the symbolism depicted on the mask, which is repainted and redecorated according to the Katcina which it is intended to represent. For the special

¹ Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. II, No. 1.

² Ibid. The following abbreviated Katcinas have been described and figured: (1) Humíekateina, Corn Flower; (2) Áñakateina, Long Beard; (3) Coyóhimkatcina, All; (4) Hehéakateina; (5) Siokateina, Zuñi; (6) Málokatcina. The symbolic characters of the different Katcinas are best shown in my article on "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians." The Nimánkatcina is likewise outlined in the Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, op. cit., and some of these abbreviated Katcinas are accompaniments of the Nimán.

³ The participants of course frequent the kiva to prepare their masks and costume for one or more days previous to the public dance, and certain simple ceremonial objects, as páhoe and nakwákwocia are made there, but in none of those Katcinas which are included in this group have I as yet observed any altar or the like. The very name "abbreviated" eliminates naturally these complex proceedings and paraphernalia.

⁴ Op. cit. The spruce tree of the Katcinae is commonly set up in the plaza.

name and the accompanying symbolism a study of the dolls will give as good an idea as can yet be obtained from published articles.¹

The participants in the abbreviated Katcinas may be divided into two groups: (1) The Katcinas, male and female, with related masked personages, and the priests who pray to them and sprinkle meal upon them, and (2) the accompanying clowns and masked or other persons who participate in their antics and presentation. The details of the proceedings of the second or possibly subordinate group vary in different dances more than those of the first.

The participants of the first group are:

1. Masked personages (always men) called Katcinas.
2. Masked men, personifying women, called Katcinamanas.
3. One or more masked persons, who vary in symbolic characters in different Katcinas. These are often absent.
4. Priests (unmasked), directors of the dance, who sprinkle the Katcinas with sacred meal. These priests are vehicles of prayers to the Katcinas and masked participants, and are generally few in number.

The presentation is accompanied with a feast² (generally at noon) limited to Katcinas and Katcinamanas. The Katcinas dance in line, sing, distribute gifts, but never utter any continuous sentence or prayer. The Katcinamanas dance in line facing the Katcinas, or kneel in front of the same, accompanying their songs with a rasping noise made by rubbing a scapula over a notched stick. Ordinarily their mask is identical in all Katcinas of the abbreviated form, and they generally have their hair in two whorls on the sides of the head, and wear white blankets and other feminine apparel. The second group of personifications are the Tcukúwypkias (Tatcü'kti, knob-head priests; Tcü'ckütü, gluttons; or Paiakaíamû, horned clowns). Their representation consists of a series of antics and dramatizations, story telling, gluttony, obscene gestures or bawdy remarks, and flogging and other indignities heaped upon each other or upon accompanying masked persons. These representations and the personifications who carry on their portion of the observance vary in different reproductions of the same drama.

The Tcukúwypkia do not dance or sing with the Katcinas, but sprinkle them with meal and pray to them. While an essential feature in certain abbreviated Katcinas, they are not always present, and their exhibition has many secular or temporal characteristics or innovations more or less dependent on the invention of the participants. The masked persons who assist them are representatives of semimythologic beings, called Píptuka, Ü'tei (Apache), Tacáb (Navaho), Kése, and others. A description of the various modifications of their performances would mean special account of each presentation

¹Dolls of the Tusayan Indians, op. cit.

²The food is brought to each by wives, daughters, or other women of his household. This feast takes place in the open air, not as at Zuñi in the kivas.

and would vary in details for each exhibition, but except in a very general way these variations are quite unimportant in the study of the characteristics of the abbreviated Katcinas. The following are some of the episodes introduced:

1. Inordinate eating and begging, urine drinking, gluttony, and obscenity.
2. Flogging of one another, stripping off breechcloths, drenching with foul water, ribald remarks to spectators, and comical episodes with donkeys and dogs.



FIG. 40—The Áñakadcina.

3. Story telling for pieces of corn under severe flogging by masked persons, races, smearing one another with blood, urinating upon one another, tormenting with cactus branches, etc.

The Katcina dance ordinarily lasts from daybreak to sunset, with intermissions, during which the participants unmask under an overhanging cliff on the southern side of the mesa. Here likewise they have their feast at midday. The dances in the forenoon are slimly attended by spectators, but in the afternoon all the terraces and roofs of the houses surrounding the plaza¹ in which the pillar mound is situated are occupied by natives and visitors. The line of Katcinas is led by an uncostumed chief, who sprinkles meal on the ground as he enters and leaves the dance court, and who from time to time shouts to

¹ This is the only plaza large enough for a long line of dancers, and hence is ordinarily used.



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DOLL OF CALAKO TAKA.

the dancers (figure 40). The leader of the Katcinas stands midway in the line, and by a rapid movement of his rattle as a signal changes the song and directs the termination. To him¹ as a representative the prayers are addressed. The dance is a rhythmic stamping movement of one foot on the ground, and all keep in line, elbowing their neighbors, turning now to one side, then to another, as directed. The female Katcinas face the male and stand about midway in the line. They use the serrated stick and scapula as an accompaniment to the song.

It is common for both male and female Katcinas to bring gifts to the plaza for spectators, especially children, as they return to the dance.² These gifts are ordinarily corn, bread, or tortillas. It is customary for priests to sprinkle the Katcinas with sacred meal, and the Tenkúwypkiyas, or clowns, also perform this function. The típoni or Katcina badge of office is not carried in every celebration, nor does the Katcina chief, Íntiwa, always lead the line.

The one garment worn by the male Katcinas is the ceremonial kilt. This is not confined to them, but is likewise worn in other ceremonies, as in the Snake-Antelope observance and in minor celebrations. Every male Katcina, whatever his helmet, has one of these about his loins. It is made of coarse cotton, on the ends of which are embroidered symbolic figures of rain-clouds, falling rain, and lightning. Ordinarily half of the width is painted green, and the lower edge is black, with nine square blocks of the same color at regular intervals. This kilt is represented on many dolls of the Katcinas figured in my article on that subject.³

The Katcinas, irrespective of the special personage depicted, wear a broad cotton sash with knotted strings at the proximal end. In this

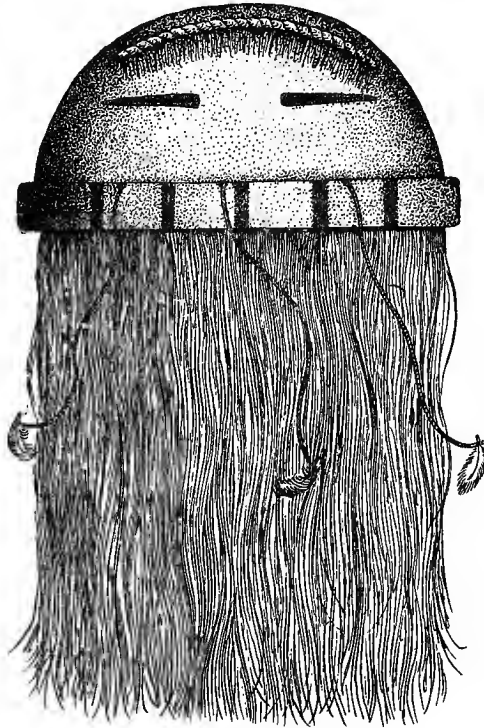


FIG. 41—Maskette of Áñakateinamana.

¹ To these prayers he alone responds 'Antcai,' right.

² The configuration of the mesa and the fact that the house walls rise almost continuously with the side of the cliff prevent the Katcinas dancing on the different sides of the pueblo, but in Zuñi the open spaces outside the village, in addition to the plaza in the heart of the pueblo, are used for dances as I have elsewhere described.

³ See also *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. iv, p. 66.

belt spruce branches are held. A fox-skin depends from the belt, and turtle-shell rattles on the leg are invariably part of a Katcina's costume. Moccasins and heel bands are prescribed and bodily decoration with pigments is common, but none of the above are characteristic of special kinds of Katcinas. The mask is in general the one distinctive characteristic of a definite personification.

SÍOCÁLAKO

The Shálako is one of the most important observances at Zuñi, and is partially described by Cushing in an article on his life in Zuñi.¹ An exhaustive account, however, has never been published. The Hopi occasionally celebrate a Cálako, which from its name and other reasons is undoubtedly an incorporated modification of this ceremonial, as the Tusayan legends distinctly state.² The following pages give an outline of the Hopi presentation as a contribution to the comparative study of Pueblo ritual. A complete account of the Shálako at Zuñi is a great desideratum before it is possible to undertake close comparisons.

The presentation of Cálako is not an annual event at the East mesa of Tusayan, but occurs after long intervals of time. The paraphernalia are kept in a house in Sitcomovi and belong to the Badger clan. The house in which they are deposited is the property of Koíkáamü, the daughter of Masiúmtiwa's eldest sister, now deceased, and the wími likewise belong to her by descent.

The chiefs of all the gentes in Walpi and Sitcomovi, the chief of the Katcinas, and one or two others from Hano assembled in this house on the 16th of July, 1893, and made a large number (over two hundred) of páhos for use in the ceremonials to be described.

Early on the morning of the next day the masks and effigies of Siocálako were renovated and carried to the spring called Kwañwába (sweet water), which is situated on the Zuñi trail southward from the mesa. In a modern house owned by a Sitcomovi family³ at this spring the masks were repainted and the hoops which were used to make a framework for the bodies were set around with eagle feathers.

The effigies which were used in personifications were made up of masks or helmets of the ordinary size for the heads and a crinoline-like⁴ framework of willow hoops for the bodies. These masks were made from narrow shreds of leaves of the agave plaited together diagonally, and this plaited frame was covered with a painted buckskin upon which the symbolism of the Síocálako was delineated. The projecting beak of the face had a movable under jaw, which was hinged and manipulated with a string. The helmet was attached to a staff forming a backbone, 3½ feet long, by which it was carried. The series of

¹ "Adventures in Zuñi," *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv, p. 507 et seq.

² Several ceremonials are derived from Zuñi, while others are peculiar to Tusayan. The symbolism of the Síocálako and the Hopi Cálako is different. No girls (mánas) were represented in the Síocálako.

³ All the women and children of this family had been moved to the mesa a few days before.

⁴ Compare the crinoline hoops of the effigies of Pálülükofáñh (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, October-December, 1893).

crinoline hoops or supports of the blankets which formed the body were about fifteen in number, the upper being about the size of the helmet, the lower $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. A tü'ihí or large white embroidered mantle was draped about the upper hoops or the shoulders, and a gray fox-skin was hung around the neck, which was likewise profusely decorated with shell necklaces.

The man who acted the part of bearer walked inside the crinoline, freely supporting the effigy by the staff or backbone, holding it at such a height as to permit the lowest hoop with its attached feathers to reach to his knees. Each effigy bearer was bareheaded, and although hidden from view, was decorated with the white kilt of a typical Katcina.

An uncostumed chief led the four giants in single file toward the mesa, followed by a large number of men dressed as mud-heads or Tatcú'kti, who were called "Koyímse," a term adapted from their Zuñi name.¹ All who had sufficient knowledge of the idiom spoke Zuñi, and the procession reached the Sun spring (Tawápa) at about sunset. It was there met by two priests, Taláhoya and a nephew of Masiúmtiwa, who were to act as conductors. All were welcomed and homoya (prayers) were recited and much sacred meal was sprinkled. Headed by the two conductors the procession climbed the trail to the top of the mesa, and from thence marched into the main court of Sitcomovi by the northeastern entrance, near which the men bearing the four giant effigies, together with the mud-heads, halted. The latter were closely huddled together in four groups, drumming with deafening noise on as many drums.

The Katcina chief, Íntiwa, and a man personifying Eótoto² then drew four circles with intersecting lines of meal on the ground at the north side of the court in the positions indicated. This was followed by a command of Hahaíwüqti, who signaled with an ear of corn for the first (kwiníwi, north) Cálako effigy to advance. He did so with a short, rapid step, and halted over the first circle of meal. The "bearer" bobbed the effigy up and down so that the feathers which had been fastened to the lower hoop of the crinoline touched the ground. The bearer then stooped and rested the end of his staff on the ground, holding it upright. The other three giant impersonators were then brought up, one at a time, by Hahaíwüqti. As each settled to its position the bearer cried "Ho!" six times in a shrill falsetto, and rapidly snapped the beak of the effigy he bore by means of a string. The Cálakos were then sprinkled with meal by the chiefs and others, after which the effigies were moved one by one to circles of meal on the southern side of the plaza. Six times this removal was repeated, each time attended by ceremonials similar to those mentioned above.

¹Koyemashe (see *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. 1).

²The association of Eótoto with Íntiwa has already been described in my account of the Nimán-katcina (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, No. 1).

At the conclusion of this observance in the plaza the four giants were conducted by the chiefs of the Lizard, Ása, Badger, and Water gentes to the houses of the elder sisters of the respective clans. The Cálako effigies were suspended by the mask from the rafters of each room, and as the length of each was 7 feet 6 inches the tips of the radiating feathers on the head and those on the last hoop of the framework of the body just touched the roof and floor of the chamber. The same ceremony took place in each house and there were prayers by the elders, dancing by the effigy bearers, and singing and drumming by the "Koyímse." At sunrise—for the exhibitions in the houses lasted all night—a final presentation in the court similar to that which opened the ceremonies took place, after which the Cálakos and mud-heads went

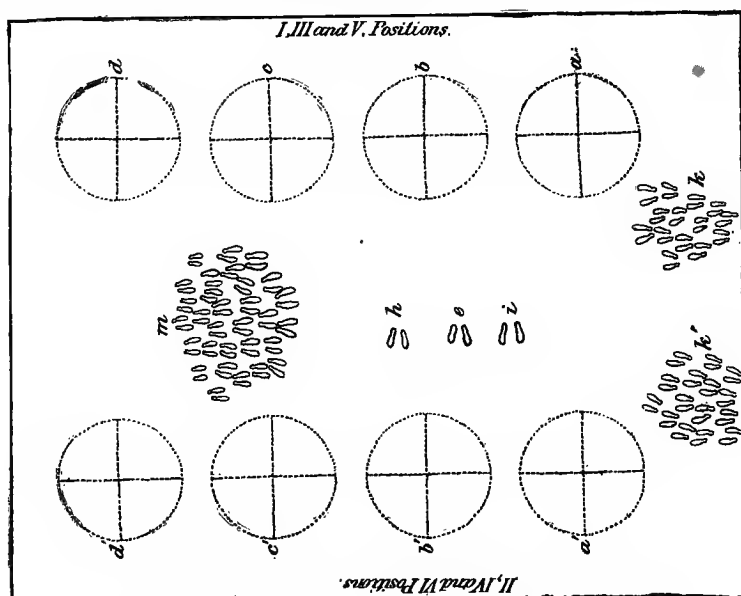


FIG. 42—Position of celebrants in the court of Sitecomovi in Siccálako.¹

to the cliff and unmasked at the Kachinaki. There they performed purification ceremonies (navótcíwa) and dismantled the effigies. They donned their ordinary habiliments and smuggled the paraphernalia back into the chamber in Sitecomovi, where it is ordinarily kept.

On the 8th and 9th of the month, following the demise of the Cálakos, a most elaborate Wáwac or Racing Katcina was performed.²

¹ Explanation of the diagram: *a, b, c, d,* and *a', b', c', d'*, successive positions of the effigy bearers on the northern and southern sides of the plaza; *e*, Eótoto; *h*, Hahaiwuqti; *i*, Íntiwa; *k*, Koyímse; *m*, accompanying celebrants. The figures *a-d* and *a'-d'* represent the circles of meal, with cross lines, over which the effigy bearers stand in the course of the ceremonials.

² The general character of the Wáwac is described in my article in the Bulletin of the Essex Institute, where certain of the masks made use of in it are figured. The Racing Katcina performed at this time was, however, much more complicated, and a description of it would be a digression from the subject of this article.

PAWÍKKATCINA

The Pawíkkatcina, which I observed at Sitcomovi in 1892, had certain differences from any abbreviated Katsina dance which I have yet described, and illustrated the ceremonial reception of these personages after they had visited another pueblo. A priest of Sitcomovi suggested that his fellow villagers should send a delegation of young men to Cipanlovi to return a dance with which they had previously been honored by the latter pueblo. Accordingly the masks were painted and the preliminary ceremonials took place in one of the Sitcomovi kivas,

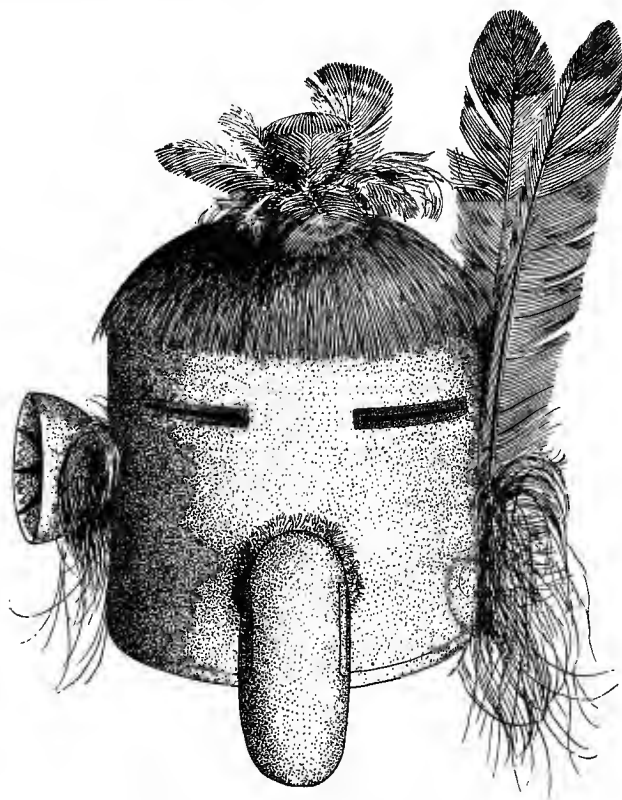


FIG. 43.—Mask of Pawíkkatcina (front view).

those who were to participate in the ceremonial beginning their work on the 25th of June. The visitors danced all day of the 27th at Cipanlovi, rested on the 28th, and continued their dance on the 29th at Sitcomovi. The ceremonials on their return at the trail approaching Sitcomovi took place on June 28th, an hour before sunset.

This dance differed very little from that of other Katsinas, to which attention has hitherto been directed.¹ There were twenty-three Katsi-

¹Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. 11, No. 1.

nas and five¹ Katcinamanas, and the masks of both are illustrated in figures 43, 44, and 45, while one of the staffs which they bore is represented in figure 46. They sang five songs called Ómowûh (cloud), Yoivíkka (swift), Pakwa (frog), Pawykia (duck), and Patzro (quail). An interesting feature which I had never before seen in Tusayan abbreviated Katcinas was the unmasked dance in the kiva.²

The secret ceremonials in the kiva were as follows: The three priests, who had previously bathed their heads in their own houses, made the páhos and nakwákwois. Two of these men made four prayer sticks similar to those described in the Walpi ceremonial, and one made a long single páho. These were deposited in a flat basket

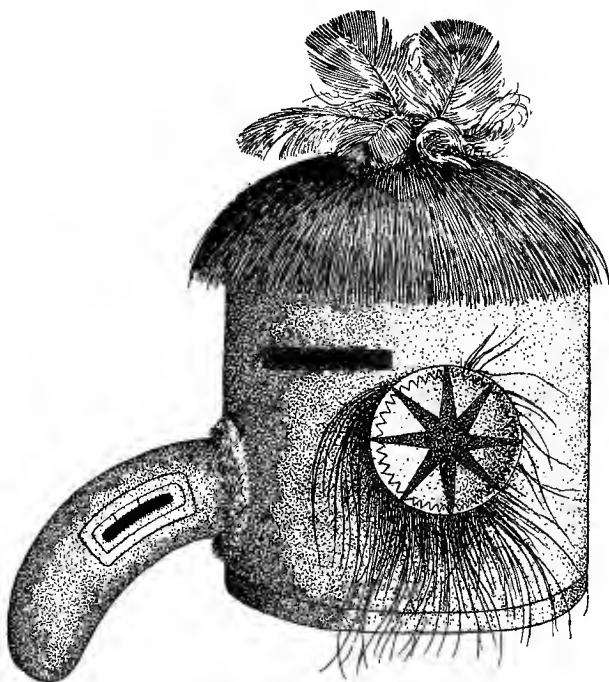


FIG. 44—Mask of Pawikkateina (oblique view).

tray and smoked upon by those present. Before beginning the manufacture of the páhos the makers prepared themselves by a ceremonial smoke.³ At the same time that the páhos were made twenty-three nakwákwois for the Katcinas and five for the Katcinamanas were likewise manufactured.

¹It was said that there ought to have been six (possibly one for each cardinal point) of these, who are called Cwáata, sisters of the Pawikkateina.

²I have not been permitted to see the unmasked dance of the Kóko in the Zuñi kivas, where it is common, and was glad to supplement my observations by the same in one of the Tusayan kivas. In the Katcinas which I saw in 1891 at Walpi there was no dance in the kivas.

³The pipe was passed ceremonially after having been lit with a coal (burning corn-cob) brought by a woman from a house in Sitcomovi. In most ceremonials it is also prescribed that the makers of páhos shall wash their heads before beginning their duties, but this takes place in their own dwellings.



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HEAD DRESS OF ALOSAKA.

At midday food was passed down into the kiva, but before partaking of it one of the priests took a pinch of each kind of food (*dnnópna*) and went with it to a cleft in the mesa on the north side of Sitcomovi. He there deposited it with a *páho*, a pinch of each kind of pigment used in painting the paraphernalia, a little tobacco,¹ but no sacred

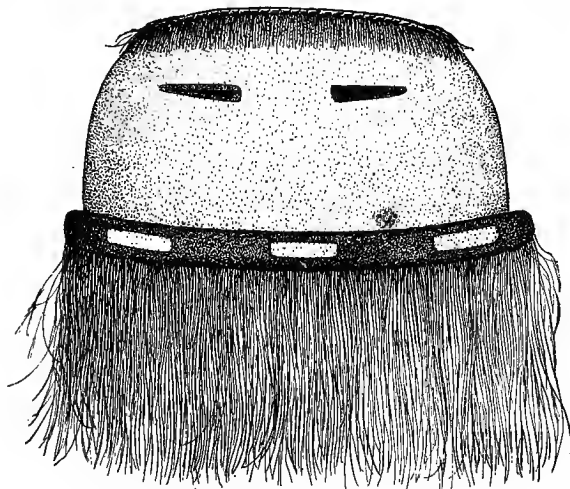


FIG. 45—Mask of Pawíkkateinamana.

meal. This was an offering, it was said, to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado *sípapû*. He then went to the southern side of the mesa and placed in a similar cleft a *nakwákwoci*, said to be an offering to *Másanwûh*.

At sunrise on the 29th two offerings were deposited, and each of the twenty-three Katchinas placed his *nakwákwoci* in a shrine.

Ceremonials attending visits of people from adjacent or remote pueblos are simple but interesting. The following reception ceremony of visitors from a distant pueblo not of their own people was noted: In the progress of the summer dances of Walpi in 1892 I observed the ceremonial reception of several *Zuñis* who came over to assist in the *Húmiskateina*. They were formally "received" in the *Wikwaliobi* kiva by *Íntiwa*,² *Kópeli*, *Hónyi*, *Panatiwa*, and *Lésma*. *Íntiwa* gave their headman a twig of spruce, to which *Lésma* tied four *nakwákwocis*.³ *Íntiwa* sprinkled it with sacred meal and laid



FIG. 46—Staff of Pawíkkateina.

¹The first reference which I have found to the use of tobacco in the ceremonial smoke by the American Indians is by Monardes. This interesting description of tobacco and its uses, accompanied with a figure of the plant, is one of the most complete for its date (1590) which I have seen.

²*Íntiwa* is Katchina *moñwi*, chief of the Katchinas; *Kópeli*, chief of the Snakes; *Hónyi*, Hereditary Snake-Antelope chief; *Wíki*, chief of the Snake-Antelopee; *Panatiwa*, chief of warriors; *Lésma*, Bear chief.

³See *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II, No. 1.

it in front of the Zuñis, and finally all smoked together. This was said to be a formal act of reception.¹

The reception ceremony of the Pawikkatcinas when they returned from Cipaulovi was as follows: At 4 p. m. Pauatíwa's father, a very old man, sat on the edge of the mesa looking west and north toward Cipaulovi. He called my attention to a line of men coming along the trail. When the line halted on the last rise before the trail ascends to the top of the mesa we went down to welcome them.

Each Katcina placed his helmet in one of two parallel lines arranged along the trail, and in front of the two lines he laid the spruce bough which he carried. In front of this pile of spruce boughs an ear of corn was placed in the trail not far from the helmets. All the Katcinas then marched around the line in a sinistral circuit, sprinkling sacred meal upon the masks, corn, and spruce boughs and throwing a pinch along the trail in advance of the ear of corn. The circuit around the line of helmets was sinistral, as in all Hopi ceremonials.

Nine old men then formed a circle at the left of the corn and smoked, sitting in a squatting posture.² No one was allowed to go up the trail before this ceremony was completed, and one who attempted to do so was warned back. A short address of welcome was spoken by the priests to the leader of the Katcinas, and at sunset they put on their masks and marched to the plaza of Sitcomovi. They first danced on the southern, then on the eastern, and lastly on the western sides of the plaza, omitting the northern side. The priests sprinkled the Katcinas with sacred meal, observing the sinistral ceremonial circuit as they passed around the line. A small spruce tree, upon which nakwákwocis were tied, had been placed near the middle of the plaza.

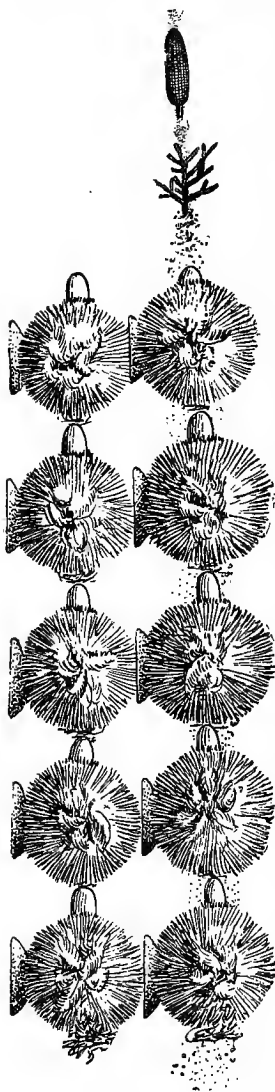


FIG. 47.—Helmets, ear of corn, and spruce bough arranged for reception ceremony.

When the inhabitants of another pueblo visit that in which a sacred dance is taking place, it is customary for the hosts to entertain by setting before them food, and it is no uncommon thing to see visitors passing from house to house partaking of the pikami (mush) and other delicacies. It is not unusual for the headmen of one pueblo to send official thanks to the people of another for their sacred dances and other efforts for rain. In a memoir on the Snake dance I mention an instance where even the distant Havasupai Indians brought offerings from their homes to Walpi (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. iv).

² I need not describe their actions, as I have already done so for other Katcina dances (*Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. ii, No. 1.)

The Katcinas and Katcinamanas then adjourned to the kiva, where they unmasked, placing their helmets in a row and the spruce boughs in the middle of the kiva.¹ The two priests seated themselves on the uprise, one on each side of the ladder.

On the following day the dance was continued from sunrise to sunset. In the afternoon there appeared the Teúkuwypkiya, Muñ'we (Owl Katcina), two Teósbüci, Pü'ükoñhoya (the Little War God), and a Navaho Katcina.

ÁÑAKATCINA

The celebration of the Áñakatcina at Hano, in the Nimán of 1892, gave me the following additional data to that already mentioned in the description² of the Áña of 1891. These are due in part to the variations in ceremonial customs, and are not regarded as essentials.

The Hopi Áñakatcina was invited to Hano by Kálakwai, and its public presentation was identical with that of 1891 and that of the Zuñi Kókokci. The antics of the gluttons were very much more complicated. This I ascribe to two causes—the rarity with which Katcinas are celebrated in Hano, and the great need of rain at the time.

One interesting but highly disgusting part of the show of these priests was the slaughter of a huge dog and the use of his entrails and blood in distinguishing one of their number as Másauwáh,³ the Death god. The details of this may be had by consultation with the author.

About 4 oclock on the morning of the public dance of the Áña the participants danced in the Hano plaza, destitute of all clothing or helmets and accompanied by the clowns, also without masks. This feature I had not previously observed. After this early dance páhos were deposited at the shrine situated in the middle of the dance plaza.

As no account of the ceremonial deposit of offerings to the winds has ever been published, the following observations are given to fill this gap in our knowledge. Probably the object of the wind offerings is propitiatory, for high wind, it is believed, blows away the rain, to produce which is the main object of the observance. Kwálakwa took for this purpose in a blanket the following objects: Nakwákwois, native tobacco, paper bread, pikami (pudding mush), sugar, and peaches. He deposited a packet containing a pinch of each of these in six

¹One marked difference between Katcina and Kóko, or Hopi and Zuñi, dancers is that in the latter the unmasked dance occurs in the kiva and the feast is held in the same place. At Tusaayan the feast is open, and generally there is no unmasked dance. The feast in the kiva at Zuñi is possibly a secondary modification for effecting secrecy.

²Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. II, No. 1.

³This is the only time I have seen the Death god personified. The Paiaakamú rushed up to me and demanded a knife, and when I refused to give it, not aware of their intention, they sought other ways to kill the poor brute. It was an exhibition of extreme savagery, but of course with no danger to any of the spectators. Later in their antics the gluttons themselves were lightly struck with a cactus branch, and the person who performed this painful act went from housetop to housetop touching the arm or neck of every spectator—man, woman, and child. During this dance these Teukuwypkiyas performed the disgusting act of drinking human urine. Mr Cushing, in the Century Magazine, records the slaughter of a dog in a similar manner, except that he says that his life was threatened before the dog was killed, and it was by his defiant attitude that he was not seized by the performers.

shrines situated at cardinal points, beginning at the east.¹ The Hopi begin their ceremonial circuit ordinarily at the north, but the Tewa, it would seem, place their offerings in the following order: East, north-west, southwest by south, southwest, southeast by east, southeast.

In the interval between two of the dances, while the Katcinas were unmasked, and had halted under an overhanging rock on the trail a few feet below Hano, I observed a test of endurance which I had never before seen. Kópeli, the Suake chief, took a bundle of yucca branches, and different volunteers from the Katcinas, stepping up to him, first held out one arm, then the other; Kópeli struck the outstretched limb with more or less force, and at the conclusion presented his own arm and naked body for this trying ordeal. The Áñakateina is illustrated in figure 40.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KATCINA DANCES IN CIBOLA AND TUSAYAN

The published material which can be used as a basis of comparison in the study of Katcinas in other villages is meager and insufficient. Even of the nearest pueblo, Zuñi, which has been more studied than many of the others, and in which Katcina observances closely akin to those of Tusayan are performed, the published accounts are very limited. In a general way it seems to me that the Tusayan ceremonials are more showy and elaborate than those at Zuñi. There is, however, one marked exception;² the powerful war society, called the Priesthood of the Bow, has more elaborate ceremonials in Zuñi than in Walpi, where this organization is weak. It is not possible from my limited knowledge of Zuñi ceremonials to declare that it is less complicated than that of Tusayan, but I believe that the powerful organization mentioned has had much to do with many of the differences between the two.

One source of information in regard to the differences and likenesses between the Zuñi and Hopi ceremonials is the testimony of the chiefs themselves. This does not hold in regard to modified ceremonials primarily the same or derived from a common source, and is only hearsay, not science.

All the Hopi priests say that the Siotü (Zuñis) have no knowledge of the Tcütçübwimi (Snake-Antelope mysteries). The same chiefs likewise claim that the Zuñis have no Mamzraúti, Lálakoñti,³ Wüwütcimti, and no societies corresponding to the Tátauqyamû, Áaltû, or Kwákwantû.

¹ The direction of the ceremonial circuit of the Tewa is sinistral. In this instance it began at the east. I believe this is the prescribed circuit of all the Pueblos. Some of the Tewa have told me that in their folktales their people did not emerge from the same aipapû as the Hopi, but from a aipapû to the east. Although some of the priests say that all people came from the middle of the earth, from one aipapû, others believe that each pueblo has its own ancestral geographical opening. The idea has been localized by environment, as is so often the case with modified legends.

² There are certainly more evidences of white man's influences in dance paraphernalia in Zuñi than at Tusayan, such, for instance, as the use of hats and calico shirts in dances, American chairs, rides, etc., etc.

³ Notwithstanding this statement, I have already pointed out similarities between both these women's celebrations and certain Zuñi dances (see *American Anthropologist*, vol. v, p. 236, note).

Although they may not reproduce some of these ceremonials in the form celebrated by the Hopi, it is not clear to me that some of those which they observe may not be differentiations of the same ceremony, as I have shown in my accounts of the women's dances.¹ There is a marked similarity in many of the myths, which would seem to imply resemblances in ritualistic dramatizations of the same.

It is possible to verify historical data and legendary history by a study of the same ceremony. For instance, the five oldest Tusayan pueblos of which we have accounts in the earliest records are Awatobi, Walpi, Micoñinovi, Cuñopavi, and Oraibi.² Awatobi was destroyed in 1700, so that but four original communities of the time of Vargas still remain. It is in these four and at Cipaulovi that the Snake ceremony is still celebrated, and Sitcomovi and Hano are ascribed by Hopi legends to a much later time than the first appearance of the Spaniards; their names do not appear in the early descriptions of the province.

It is a mistaken idea, and one which has led to many misconceptions, to suppose that what is true of one group of pueblos is true of all. While in a general way the mythology and ritual of all may be said to have general resemblances, there is far from an identity between the ceremonials, for instance, of the Hopi and the Zuñi, or those of the Rio Grande pueblos and Tusayan. It is not a question of knowing all by an intimate knowledge of one; but each branch, even individual pueblos, must be investigated separately before by comparative knowledge we can obtain an adequate conception of the character of the pueblo type of mythology and ritual. Moreover, there is evidence that this difference existed in ancient times, and while the differentiation of the manners and customs of different pueblos may have been less rapid in the past than today they were far from being identical. It does not follow, except in certain limits, that the most primitive pueblos today show in their survivals a better picture of the character of life in another pueblo than the existing state of things in the latter. To reconstruct the probable character of the ancient culture we must trace similarities by comparative studies.

In a comparative study of the ceremonials of different pueblos, it is important to decide which are most primitive or nearest the aboriginal condition and which are least affected by foreign influences. The purer the present aboriginal culture, the greater worth will it have

¹Hówina (Zuñi, Ówinahe), a kind of thanksgiving dance, is distinctly a Zuñi dance, and is so recognized by the Hopi. I have seen photographs of the celebration at Zuñi which bear such a close resemblance to that called by the Hopi the Hówina that in all probability the two are identical. The elaborate war dances celebrated at Zuñi and the observances of the Priesthood of the Bow at that pueblo are very much abbreviated in Tusayan (East mesa), where the organization has not the same power as with the Cibolane.

²Cipaulovi, or the "Place of Peaches," would necessarily have received its name after those who brought peaches came among the Hopi. It is known that Sitcomovi was a late colony of Aaa people from the Rio Grande, united with others from Walpi, while Hano was founded about 1700. The Cipaulovi people, however, celebrate the Flute ceremony, and the Flute people came to Tusayan shortly after the Snake. It would thus appear that we have a date to determine that the Flute people came to Tusayan after Vargas (1692). Morá, in 1782, says that the people of Xipaulovi (Cipaulovi) came from Xongopabi (Cuñopavi).

in our approximation to a true conception of the primitive pueblo culture. Many of the Pueblos practice a religious system which may be rightly called aboriginal, but in some it has been modified by outside influences. I think no one, for instance, would say that the present Zuñi custom of burial in a churchyard was not due in part to the influence of Catholic priests, for Spanish narratives of three and a half centuries ago are quite explicit in their statement that the Zuñis burned their dead. If one custom has been changed, how are we to distinguish the modified from the primitive? It can be shown that strong influences have been used for the direct purpose of destroying the Katsina worship. Take, for instance, Zuñi, the least changed of all the pueblos except those of Tusayan. It is pagan today, and probably never was profoundly modified by Christianity, but Roman Catholic fathers, with the avowed determination to Christianize it, could not have lived there continuously for over a century and caused the great missions to be built without modifying the religious customs of the Zuñians. It is said that after the priests were driven out the Pueblos returned to their ancient practices, but it must be admitted that no one has yet shown how the pure Katsina practices were preserved over three generations. They returned to an old worship, but who has evidence to say that it was the same as that of their great-great-grandfathers?

In some instances the natives have very willingly adopted Christian teachings and the Christian God, believing that by so doing their own religion would necessarily become strengthened by an addition to their pantheon. Such adoption, however, no matter how regarded by them, made a permanent impression on their primitive condition by changing their mode of thought and life.

They apparently may have abandoned all that the church taught; but what means could have been used to restore the pure worship of pre-Columbian times? The culture which was revived was aboriginal, but could never be identical¹ with that of the times before Coronado.

The question then resolves itself into a historical one—which pueblos were the home of Catholic priests for the shortest time, and in which were their influences least powerful? The historian will of course answer the Tusayan pueblos, and ethnology contributes her quota of facts to indicate that the purest form of Pueblo ceremonials are now practiced by these villagers.

Although there are several ceremonials which the Hopi claim are not performed at Zuñi, and conversely others performed at Zuñi which are not observed in Tusayan, there is a similarity, differing in details, between the Kóko and Katsina dances close enough to show their identity. The Hopi recognize this fact, and to prove it I need only mention that the Áñakatsina in 1891 was danced at Zuñi by some of the Hopi as a Kóko. I have already pointed out the identity of the masks, paraphernalia, and songs of the Kókokshi, performed by the Zuñians, and

¹I do not for a moment doubt that even when nominally Christianized the succession of the chiefs in the several sacerdotal societies has not been broken up to our time.



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A POWAMU MASK.

the Áñakatsina at Walpi. There is no doubt in my mind that they are the same, but I can not accept the dictum that what is observed in one is identical with what exists in the other. There are slight modifications which exist likewise in different Hopi villages, as will be seen by a comparison of my descriptions of the two. One marked difference is that several Kókokshi dances were performed in the summer I spent at Zuñi, and that this identical Katsina (the Áña) is performed but once each summer in any one Hopi village.

The only other Kóko¹ dance which I know of from personal observation is the tablet dance, which is in many respects homologous with the Húmiskatsina. The symbolism of the mask and tablet, however, dif-

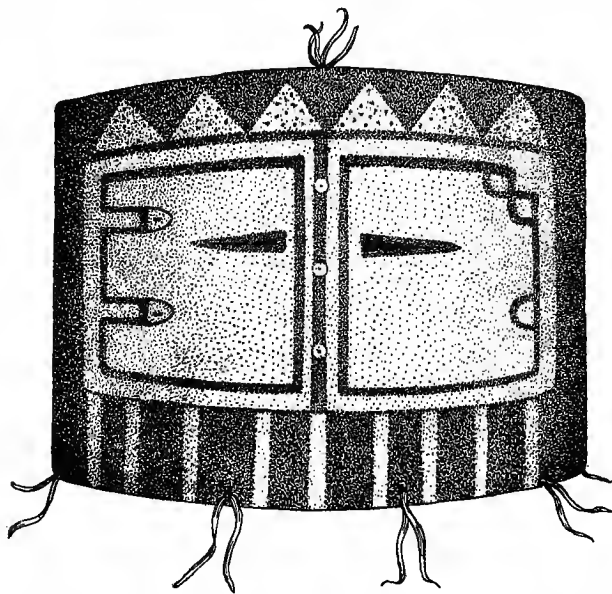


FIG. 48—Symbolism of the helmet of Húmiskatsina (tablet removed).

fers from the Húmisk, and while in a speculative way I regard them the same we must await more research to prove them identical. The subject is still more complicated by the fact that the Hopi have a tablet mask with still a third symbolic character, which they call the Zuñi or Sío Húmiskatsina.

I think we need have no hesitation in supposing that the so-called Sío (Zuñi) Katsina, which I have elsewhere described, is a Zuñi celebration derived from that pueblo. I do not know whether it is ever performed there in the same way as at Walpi, since it has not been described by any of the students of the Zuñians.

We have, however, as before mentioned, a partial description by Cushing of the Zuñi Shálako, and from his account we can gather a

¹Coco in Spanish signifies a boggy. In compounds it can be detected in Cocomaricopa, where it may mean fool, possibly referring to the inferiority of this stem. The derivation of Kóko or Ká'ká is not known to me. The word Katsina has the advantage of Kóko or Ká'ká as a general designation.

few of the main points of difference between it and the *Síocálako* performed at Walpi and described in the preceding pages. The Hopi, however, have a *Cálako* of their own. They distinguish it from the *Síocálako*, which they not only recognize as of Zuñi origin, but are also able to designate the family which brought it from the Zuñians. The name of the celebration and the use of Zuñi words in it both point to this conclusion.

The correspondence between the *Héemashikwi*, or last¹ dance—the tablet dance described by me elsewhere as occurring at the close of the series of *Kókos*—is probably the same as the *Nimánkacina*. There are many similarities to indicate this fact, and, although as yet we know nothing of the secret observances connected with it, I suspect that a similarity between them and those described in the *Mónkiva* will later be made known.

Dolls in imitation of the *Héemashikwi* are reported in the catalogue of Colonel James Stevenson's collection from Zuñi in 1881, and I have no doubt it will be found that there formerly was, and possibly still survives, at the celebration of this dance at Zuñi the characteristic habit in Tusayan of distributing dolls as presents at the departure of the *Kachinas*.

Mrs Stevenson has given short descriptions of some of the Zuñi *Kókos* and figures of the masks of the same. While it is not possible for me to use them in a comparison with *Katcina* celebrations, they are interesting in studies of symbolism. The "flogging *Kókos*," for instance, seem to function the same as *Túnwup* among the Hopi, but as the symbolism of the mask of the floggers, *Saiāhlias*, is not given by Mrs Stevenson I am not able to express an opinion whether the same personage is intended or not. The time of year when the flagellation is inflicted by the *Saiāhlia* of Zuñi would be an interesting observation, and the accompanying ceremonials would also be of great interest for comparison with the *Powámû*.

I have not been able to find the equivalents of the *Sälāmobias* among the Hopi, but the symbolism of *Pooatíwa* agrees almost exactly with that of the Hopi *Paútiwa*.

The *Sälāmobias* of the different world-quarters agree in color with those assigned by the Hopi to the same points, with the exception of those for the above and below. In Zuñi, according to Cushing and Mrs Stevenson, the above is all colors, the below black. Among the Hopi the above was found to be black and the below all colors. This discrepancy in observations is recommended as a good subject for future students, both in Tusayan and Zuñi.

In reviewing the Hopi ceremonial personages I have been unable to find any homology with the *Sälāmobias*. The views of the masks²

¹That is, the last *Katcina* before their departure in Cibola, as in Tusayan. In Walpi it is not an autumn dance, but occurs at about the same time that I witnessed it at Zuñi, near the end of July (see *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. 1, No. 1).

²It is recommended that in illustrating Zuñi masks a full face view be given, for in that way the symbolism is much better expressed than by profile views.

given by Mrs Stevenson afford little information on this subject, but in her sand picture, surrounded by the Plumed Snake, I find some of the figures of Sälämobias with indication of a connecting band between the eyes, which recalls Paútiwa's¹ symbolism. There does not seem to be a wide difference between the profile views of the masks of Paútiwa and Sälämobia of the different world-quarters.

The environment of the pueblos of Tusayan and of Cibola is so similar and the rain-cloud worship so imperative in both that, a priori, we should expect the rain-cloud symbol to be as frequent in Zuñi as in Walpi. I am much surprised therefore in studying the description of Zuñi ceremonials to find nothing said of the characteristic Hopi symbols of the rain clouds, the semicircles and the parallel lines of falling rain (plate CVIII). If the rain clouds at Zuñi are limited to the terraced² figures found on the prayer-meal bowls and the same made in sacred meal we certainly have a significant difference between the symbolism of these two peoples. In Tusayan there is not one of the great religious festivals where the semicircular clouds and falling rain do not appear as symbols. Thus far students of the Zuñi ceremonials have not figured one instance in which they are used.³

The short account of the effigy of the Plumed Snake (Kólowisi) with attendant ceremonials at Zuñi, by Mrs Stevenson, shows the existence of archaic rites with the Plumed Serpent which have been observed in a different form (Pálülüköñti) at Tusayan. The time of the year when the Zuñi effigy is brought to the kivas on a rude altar is not given, nor is the special name of the ceremony. The conch shell is similarly used to imitate the voice of the Plumed Serpent at Zuñi, as at Walpi, in the Soyáluña and the Pálülüköñti. In neither of these ceremonials, however, have the effigies been observed to be carried ceremonially about the pueblos of the Tusayan mesas. The symbolism of Pálülüköñti and Kólowisi seems to differ, judging from published accounts and symbolism on Zuñi and Hopi pottery. I find no intimation of the horn on the head of Zuñi pictures of the Plumed Snake, and the arrowhead decoration fails on the body. The two crescents which are common on the body of the Zuñi figures have not been observed in Hopi pictographs or effigies.

It would seem both from legendary and other reasons that there has not been the warmest friendship between the inhabitants of Tusayan and Cibola. This is not to be wondered at, for only on rare occasions has there been good feeling between two pueblos even of the same

¹Pooatiwa is considered by Mrs Stevenson the "Sun Father." I have not gone far enough in my studies to accept this relationship for Paútiwa. There are some reasons for considering Paútiwa the Mist Father, which speculation has led me to interpret the Sälämobias as Paútiwa forms of the rain-clouds of the six world-quarters, but such an opinion is highly theoretical.

²The terraced elevations are common on the Zuñi nákwipis and handled prayer-meal bowls, as can be seen in any large collection of Zuñi ceramics; but the semicircular rain-cloud figures are very rare, indeed wanting, in all I have seen. The frog, tadpole, snake, and similar symbols appear, however, to be present in both. The question of the characteristic symbolism of Zuñi and Hopi pottery is a complicated one, which can not be considered in this article, but the two types can readily be distinguished by a student of this subject.

³It would be a remarkable fact if accounts of this symbolism are not later described.

speech. The massacre of Awatobi at the hands of the other Hopi has been told elsewhere, and even at the present day Oraibi is not on the best of terms with the other Hopi towns. The legends of the Hopi are full of quarrels of one pueblo with another, and bitter hatred sometimes developing into bloody wars in which their own kindred were attacked and pueblos destroyed.

In her article, "A chapter of Zuñi mythology,"¹ Mrs Stevenson says: "The Ahshiwanni,² a priesthood of fourteen men who fast and pray for rain; the Kokko, an organization bearing the name of anthropomorphic beings (principally ancestral) whom they personate, and thirteen esoteric societies are the three fundamental religious bodies of Zuñi. . . . The society of the Kokko personate anthropomorphic gods by wearing masks and other paraphernalia. There are six estufas or chambers of the Kokko for the six regions, the north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir, and these rooms present fantastic scenes when the primitive drama is enacted by the personators of these anthropomorphic gods. . . . The esoteric societies, with but one or two exceptions, have nothing to do with anthropomorphic beings, this category of gods being zoomorphic."

Accepting these statements as a correct idea of the "three fundamental religious bodies of Zuñi" I find great difficulty in tracing an intimate relation between them and those of the Hopi system. A large number of the Katcinas are anthropomorphic and likewise ancestral. They bear the names of animals, and in that sense may be called in some instances zoomorphic. Walpi, however, has but five kivas, the members of each of which in the Powámú personify different Katcinas. I have not yet discovered that each of these kivas is associated with a different cardinal world-quarter, as Mrs Stevenson finds to be the case in Zuñi. The esoteric societies of the Zuñi, according to Mrs Stevenson, "with but one or two exceptions have nothing to do with anthropomorphic beings." I am not able to harmonize my observations of the secret societies in Tusayan with the definition given of the esoteric societies in Zuñi, and must await some clearer insight into the character of the latter before offering any discussion of several resemblances which can be detected. From an examination of Cushing's article in the *Century Magazine*, in which the esoteric societies of Zuñi are briefly defined, I am led to believe that the so-called esoteric societies in that pueblo differ a good deal from those in Walpi. The Hopi testify that while some of their secret fraternities are represented in Zuñi several of them are not identical.³

¹ *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology*, Chicago, 1894, p. 315.

² On page 314 she mentions six Ahshiwanni as "rain priests." I am not able to definitely decide from the text whether these six are the same as the fourteen mentioned above. It is not clear to me in which group Mrs Stevenson places the "Mud-heads" and "Gluttons," well described by Ten Broeck in 1852 from Tusayan, and later by herself and Cushing from Zuñi, and by other writers from the Rio Grande pueblos.

³ If these statements are true one sees that they tell in favor of the theory which the ritual emphasized, and that while in a general way there is a similarity between the ceremonial system of the two

Mrs Stevenson does not make it clear who these fourteen (six) so-called Ahshiwanni are, but calls them "rain priests." She intimates that they appeal directly to the Sun father, their supreme deity, and to the rain makers, while the "societies" address "the beast gods of their worship to intercede with the Sun father and rain makers." There is apparently no parallelism between these conditions and those at Tusayan, but I can readily find truth in the statement when applied to the Hopi that "no society convenes without giving much time to invocations for rain." I am sure that some of the societies at Tusayan do not appeal to the beast gods to intercede with the Sun father and rain makers, but address the latter directly in their prayers. In this particular there is certainly a marked difference between the conceptions back of the rites in Tusayan and those ascribed to the Cibolans.¹

The custom of the Yókimoñwi, or rain chief, retiring alone to a cell to pray for rain was practiced in Tusayan. One of these retreats is to be seen at the Middle mesa. Among the foothills there is a block of sandstone, 15 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet thick. Its flat face is about horizontal or slightly tilted toward the northeast. Portions of a rough wall are still in place under the block, confirming the story that there was here formerly a chamber of which the block was the roof. An aperture on the northeastern corner, about 20 inches square, is usually closed with loose stones, but the chamber is now filled in with sand to within about 2 feet of the roof or lower surface of the slab. The interior of the chamber was about 8 feet long and 4 feet wide. On the roof, which was painted white, are figures of yellow, green, red, and white rain clouds with parallel lines of falling rain and zigzag lightning symbols in conventional patterns. To this chamber, it is said, the Rain chief of the Water people retired at planting time and lived there sixteen days, his food being brought to him by a girl during his vigils. He

people, it is absurd to say that "what is written of one is true also of the other." Long ago their systems may have been identical; at present they have more or less differentiated one from the other. In Zuñi, according to Mrs Stevenson, "at the winter and summer solstices synchronal meetings of most of these societies are held, and also at other times." After having carefully studied the ceremonials at the time of the summer solstice at Tusayan, I have not found any synchronal meetings of the societies which correspond with those mentioned as occurring at Zuñi at that time.

It is desirable that the names of the priests who officiate in ceremonials be given in extended accounts of them in order that the intimate character of this sacerdotal organization may be made out. Until the names of the members of the different societies are complete we are more or less hampered in our studies. The Zuñi equivalent of *wympkia* appears to be *kyalikwe* (*Tcihkyalikwe*, Snake priests; from *tcibhola*, snake, and *kyalikwe*, *wympkia*). I am unable to tell to what priests in Tusayan the "Ahshiwanni" correspond. The Tawa (Sun) *wympkia* or Sun priests have certain points in common with them, but this is as truly an esoteric society as any in Tusayan. I have elsewhere described the Tewa ceremony in which the Sun priests make the *páhos* and their chief, *Kálacai*, appeals directly to the rising sun. In that same ceremony *páhos* are likewise made to the Rain gods directly. In the Katsina celebrations some of the same Sun priests, however, appeal to the leader of the Katsinas to bring them rain, and this personage replies that he will. In this case, supposing, as I think we justly can, that the Katsinas are intercessors between men and gods of highest rank, we have in Tusayan the possible equivalent of the "Ahshiwanni (rain priests)" intrusting their prayers to a zoomorphic and anthropomorphic supernatural personage. The prayer of a single chief for rain for the people, showing something similar to the so-called Ahshiwanni at Zuñi, are not uncommon in Tusayan. In Tusayan an organization of rain priests is not differentiated at the present day from the other societies. All holders of *wimis* are Rain priests, as well as the organization called the Sun priests, and all at times make special prayers to the Rain gods.

was able by his prayers to bring the rain. These visits were made long ago, but even now there are páhos strewn about the chamber, and devout persons visit the place at the present day with a nakwákwoi and pray for rain. Although the Rain chief no longer passes the sixteen days there, it is a holy place for the purposes mentioned.

"The earth," says Mrs Stevenson,¹ "is watered by the deceased Zuñi of both sexes, who are controlled and directed by a council composed of ancestral gods. These shadow people collect water in vases and gourd jugs from the six great waters of the world, and pass to and fro over the middle plane, protected from view of the people below by cloud masks."

I find a different conception from this of the rain-making powers of the dead among the Hopi. Among other ceremonials, when certain persons die, after the chin has been blackened, the body washed, and prescribed feathers placed on different parts of it, a thin wad of raw cotton in which is punched holes for the eyes is laid upon the face. This is a mask and is called a rain-cloud or "prayer to the dead to bring the rain." In general, as many writers have said, the use of the mask transforms the wearer into a deity designated by the symbolism of the same,² and as a consequence the dead, we may theoretically suppose, are thereby endowed with supernatural powers to bring rain. The Ómowñhs, however, are the Rain gods, and so far as I can explain the significance of the symbolic rain-cloud mask on the face of the dead and the black color on the chin, it is simply a method of prayer through the divinized dead to the Rain-cloud deities. Among the Hopi the earth is watered by the Rain gods, but the dead are ceremonially made intercessors to affect them. In this view of the case the Hopi may be said to believe that the earth is "watered by the deceased of both sexes."

The Hopi believe that the breath body of the Zuñi goes to a sacred place near Saint Johns, called Wénima. There the dead are supposed to be changed into Katcinas, and the place is reputed to be one of the homes of these personages. It is likewise specially spoken of as the house of Cálako, and it is believed that the Zuñi hold the same views of this mysterious place. In lagoons near it turtles are abundant, and not far away Mr Hubbell and others discovered sacrificial caverns in which were large collections of pottery. Tótei, a Hopi resident of Zuñi, is the authority for the statement that the Cibolans do not use the raw cotton mortuary mask, although they blacken the face of the dead chiefs. He says the same idea of divinization of the breath body into a Katcina seems to be current among the Zuñi as among the Hopi.

According to Mrs Stevenson the father of the Kokko is Kaklo (Kyäklä), whose servants are the Sälämobiya. The name of their mother is not known to me. The Katcinas are said to be the offspring of an Earth

¹ Op. cit., p. 314. I believe many facts might be marshaled to prove that ancestor worship is a most vital part of the Tusayan religious system.

² See "The Graff collection of Greek portraits," *New England Magazine*, January, 1894. Mr J. G. Frazer (*Jour. Anth. Inst. of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xv, p. 73) from comparative studies of burial customs suggests that the habit of masking the dead is "to keep the way to the grave a secret from the dead man." This explanation seems to me much more labored than that given above.

goddess,¹ who figures under many names. Their father's name on comparative grounds is supposed to be Táwa, the sun, or Túnwup, their elder brother.

A study of the group of Katcina ceremonials as compared with the Kóko brings out in prominence the conclusion that while some of them may be identical, as a rule there is considerable difference in the ritual of the Tusayan people and their nearest neighbor, the Zuñi. If variations exist between these neighbors we are justified in the suspicion, which observation as far as it has thus far gone supports, that there are even wider differences between pueblos more distant from each other. The ethnologist fully cognizant with the ritual in one pueblo has a general conception of the character of all, but changes due to suppression of ceremonials, survivals, dying out of societies, and many other causes have modified the pueblos in different ways. The character of the ancient system is adulterated in all. We can form an idea of this modification in no better way than by a minute study of the existing ritual in every pueblo. Upon such comprehensive study science is at the very threshold.

The foregoing pages open many considerations of a theoretical nature which I have not attempted to develop. My greatest solicitude has been to sketch the outline of the Katcina ceremonials as performed at the Hopi village of Walpi in Tusayan.

¹Hahaiwüqti. I have elsewhere shown reasons to suspect that several personages may be the same "Earth goddess." Kókyanwüqti, the Spider woman, is also an "Earth goddess." As everything, even man himself, came from the womb of the earth, symbolized by the spider, it is not surprising that an Indian should call the spider the creator. It is a very different thing, however, to interpret such information by our philosophic ideas. That the primitive mind should consider the earth as the mother of everything, its creator in one sense, is natural; that the Pueblo Indian should symbolize that mother by the Spider woman is probable, for other races have done likewise; but that he associates with mother earth the spiritual idea which we have of the Creator is absurd. His cosmogony bears no evidence that he rose, in pre-Columbian times, to the belief in a Great Spirit who created the universe.

TUSAYAN SNAKE CEREMONIES

BY

JESSE WALTER FEWKES

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TUSAYAN SNAKE CEREMONIES

BY JESSE WALTER FEWKES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

When I began my studies of the Snake dance at Walpi, in 1891, it was said by all the white men whom I consulted that this weird ceremony was confined to the pueblos of Walpi and Micoñinovi, and there was no mention in the literature dealing with the subject of its existence in other villages of Tusayan. During the course of my researches,¹ however, it was discovered that the same or a closely related ceremony takes place in even years at Oraibi and Cuñopavi, and considerable material was collected regarding the exhibition in the latter village in 1892. Shortly after the publication of my memoir² on the Snake ceremonials of Walpi, attention was called to the existence of a similar rite in Cipaulovi, so that we are now cognizant of its celebration in five Tusayan villages—Walpi, Micoñinovi, Cuñopavi, Cipaulovi, and Oraibi. As the remaining two pueblos, Sitcomovi and Hano, are now known not to have a Snake dance, we have exact information concerning the Tusayan villages where this ceremony is observed.

The ever-increasing interest in the Snake dance of the Hopi dates from the description by the late Captain J. G. Bourke in 1884. Since the publication of Bourke's valuable book, many articles of more or less scientific value have appeared, so that this rite has now come to be one of the best known of all aboriginal American ceremonials. Most of these accounts, however, deal with the Walpi presentation, and there is a wide field of research still uncultivated in the other pueblos.

The Snake dance at Micoñinovi was first described by Mr Cosmos Mindeleff,³ and although it has been witnessed by many persons since his article appeared, the ceremony still remains one of the most obscure of all these presentations.

The first notice of the Snake dance at Oraibi we owe to Mr J. H. Politzer, of Phoenix, Arizona, who published numerous newspaper

¹ These studies were made in 1896, while the author was connected with the Bureau of American Ethnology.

² *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, Vol. iv.

³ *Science*, Vol. vii, June 4, 1886.

accounts of the 1894 presentation, which may be consulted in files of that date. In 1892 Mr R. H. Baxter observed parts of the Cipaulovi or Cuñopavi dances and published a short notice of them in the *American Antiquarian*. It can hardly be said, however, that the accounts by Politzer and Baxter advanced our knowledge of the Snake dance to any considerable degree, as the secret ceremonials were wholly neglected and the public events superficially, often inaccurately, described. They have a value, however, in verifying the statements which had already been made after personal observation of the dances in these three pueblos. Mr Politzer's photographs showed an unexpected fact, that the numbers of participants in the Oraibi dance were small, a feature on which I have elsewhere commented.

From reasons which need not be enumerated, the majority of the descriptions of the Tusayan Snake dance have been limited to the exhibition at Walpi, and our knowledge of this variant far exceeds that of the other pueblos. It is, therefore, but natural that the Walpi dance should be regarded as the most complicated, and while extended research tends to support such a conclusion, it does not necessarily demonstrate that the ceremony at Walpi is the most primitive, but rather tends to show the reverse. To obtain what light we can on this point, as a preliminary to generalizations in regard to the nature and meaning of the Tusayan Snake dance, it is desirable to investigate the details of the presentation in the villages where our knowledge is more fragmentary. The present article is, therefore, offered as a contribution to a study of the Snake dances of Oraibi, Cipaulovi, and Cuñopavi, with generalizations which, it is believed, are warranted by new data obtained from these observations.

The duration of the Snake dance ceremonial at Walpi, where it is celebrated in the most elaborated form, may be stated as twenty days, of which only nine days are marked by active ceremonials, secret or open. Sixteen days before the Snake dance occurs it is formally announced, and on the preceding night the chiefs gather, engage in ceremonial smoking, and commission the town crier to call out the date on the following sunrise.¹ The next seven days are not days of ceremony, although the Antelope chief is engaged in preparations. The eighth day (on which he and others enter the kiva, or "*pakit*," as it is called) is the *yüñya*, or assembly, and for nine days the secret ceremonials continue, closing at sunset of the ninth day by a dance in the plaza, when snakes are carried in the mouths of the participants. The following four days are included in my enumeration, as they are days of purification, but are conspicuous to public eyes only as the frolics, called *nüitiwa*, which I have described elsewhere. If these different components are rightly embraced by me in the Snake ceremony, we have, in the twenty days' proceedings, five groups of four days each;

¹ The "Oraibi Flute Altar," *Journ. Amer. Folk-lore*, Vol. VIII, No. xxxi.

or, beginning with the last, four days of frolic, four days from the erection of the Snake altar to the Snake dance, four days from the erection of the Antelope altar to the making of the Snake altar, and eight inactive days, which I am unable to separate by any distinct events.

The nine days of ceremony, beginning with *yüñya* and ending with the dance, have a nomenclature suggestive of a division into two groups of four each. The day after the assembly is called the "first day" (*ciictala*). Then follow the "second day" (*liictala*), the "third day" (*paictala*), and the "fourth day" (*naluctala*). The second series then begins with a second *ciictala*, or "first day," closing with the public dance.¹ On this basis it will be seen that the number four, so constant in pueblo ritual, is prominent in the number of days in the Snake ceremonial. I will call attention also to the fact that the nine days of ceremonies plus the four days of frolic make the mystic number thirteen. It may likewise be borne in mind that the period of twenty days, the theoretical length of the most elaborate Tusayan ceremony, was also characteristic of other more cultured peoples in Mexico, and that thirteen ceremonials, each twenty days long, make a year of 260 days, a ceremonial epoch of the Maya and related peoples.

The comparative studies which are here considered deal with portions only of the rites of the nine days. This has been necessary on account of the poverty of data at my control. There seems abundant evidence that in the three pueblos considered there is no such complexity of secret rites as at Walpi, and consequently there are abbreviations. Thus the Antelope altar at Oraibi is not erected on *yüñya*, as at Walpi, while at Cipaulovi it is made on the second *ciictala*, or only four days before the dance. When we know all the details of the Snake ceremonials in each of the five Tusayan pueblos, we shall be able to draw our comparisons much more closely than at present. This article, therefore, is preliminary, a temporary summary, or a step, it is hoped, toward a more exact knowledge of the Snake dances in all the pueblos of Tusayan.

The dates of the nine days on which ceremonials belonging to the Snake dances were observed in 1896, at the three villages, are as follows (the presence of the author is indicated by an asterisk):

	Oraibi	Cipaulovi	Cuñopavi
<i>Yüñya</i>	August 11	August 15*	August 16
<i>Ciictala</i>	August 12	August 16	August 17
<i>Liictala</i>	August 13	August 17	August 18
<i>Paictala</i>	August 14	August 18	August 19
<i>Naluctala</i>	August 15	August 19	August 20
<i>Ciictala</i>	August 16	August 20	August 21
<i>Komoktotokya</i>	August 17*	August 21*	August 22
<i>Totokya</i>	August 18*	August 22*	August 23
<i>Tihüne</i>	August 19*	August 23*	August 24*

¹ Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archaeol., Vol. IV, pp. 13, 14, note.

The secret rites at Cipaulovi took place in the two kivas, the one at the right as one enters the pueblo from Micoñinovi being occupied by the Antelope priests, that on the western side being used by the Snake priests. The Antelope kiva was the same as that occupied by the *Katcina* chief in the *Nimánkatcina*, as I have elsewhere described.¹ The two kivas used at Cuñopavi are at the entrance of the pueblo, that to the left being occupied by the Antelope priests, the one to the right by the Snake priests. The two Oraibi kivas occupied in the Snake dance were on the western side, the one to the right as one emerges from the village being used by the Antelopes, that on the left by the Snake priests.

¹ Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. II, No. I, pp. 99-103.

THE CIPAULOVÍ SNAKE CEREMONY

GENERAL REMARKS

It has elsewhere been shown that the Snake dance is announced sixteen days before its celebration, after a formal smoke by the chiefs on the preceding night. The nine days of active ceremonials are composed of seven days of secret observances and two of public exhibitions in which dances in the plaza occur. One of these takes place on the eighth day, and has been called the Antelope;¹ the other, on the ninth, is known as the Snake dance proper. The nomenclature of these nine days at Walpi has likewise been given, and the same holds in regard to the days of Snake ceremonials at Cipauloví, Cuñopavi, and Oraibi. On August 16, the *cüctala*, or first day at Cipauloví, I visited both Antelope and Snake kivas of this pueblo, but found no altar there. This was exceptional, as compared with Walpi, at the very outset, for in this pueblo the altar is made on the assembly day (*yüñya*). The Antelope chief was present in the kiva, and a bundle of sticks was noticed at the rear end of the room, leaning against the wall. These sticks were the crooks which were later set about the altar in a way which will be described. The chief said the altar would not be made for four days—a statement which I afterward verified—and he added that the Snake dance would occur in eight days. While I was talking with the Antelope chief, the Snake chief came in, and smoked in a formal way; and at the close of the smoke the Antelope chief gave him three strings with red stained feathers tied at their ends (known as *nakwákwois*), and a small white feather. When the Snake chief received them, he sprinkled a little sacred meal on the bundle of sticks and returned to his own kiva.

So far as I could judge, this ceremony corresponded to the delivery of the prayer-sticks (*pahos*) to Kopeli, the Snake chief, when he went on the snake hunt which I have elsewhere described at length,² for the Snake priests immediately set forth on a snake hunt northward from the pueblo. For the next four days this simple ceremony of delivery of the feathered strings to the Snake chief was repeated, and the Snake priests hunted reptiles in the remaining world-quarters, west, south, and east, in the prescribed circuit.

¹The "Oraibi Flute Altar" (see the Bibliography at the close of the article). Strictly speaking, this dance should be called the Corn dance; but as the corn-growing element of the Snake ceremonial is limited to the Antelope priesthood, I retain the name Antelope dance for the public exhibition on the eighth day.

²Journ. Amer. Ethn. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 40, 41.

There was a small *natchi*, made of two sticks tied together, set in the straw matting of each kiva, as at Walpi, and the snake whips of the Snake kiva were arranged upright in a row leaning against the rear wall. This row of snake whips was the only feature comparable with an altar that was constructed in the Snake chamber of Cipaulovi.

As I was obliged to spend the following days at Micoñinovi, studying the Flute observance, no further visits were made to the Cipaulovi kivas until August 21, or the day called *komoktotokya*, when I saw the Antelope altar for the first time, it having been made apparently either that morning or the day before.¹ The Antelope chief, Lomatowa, was absent at the time of my visit, and did not return for several hours, during which I made several visits to the Snake kiva, returning now and then to see the chief when he came back.

THE ANTELOPE ALTAR

The altar of the Antelope priesthood at Cipaulovi (plate LXXI) was the simplest yet reported in any Antelope kiva, but in form and design was closely allied to that at Walpi. The sand picture was large, measuring 4 by 3½ feet, that at Walpi being only about 32 inches square. The kiva was relatively so small, or the sand picture so near the middle of the floor, that one could see it from outside the room by looking through the hatchway. The border, like that of the Walpi altar, was composed of four bands of sand, colored yellow, green, red, and white, respectively, separated by black lines, as in the Antelope sand picture at Walpi. This border inclosed a rectangular field on which were depicted, in different colored sands, the semicircular rainclouds; four yellow, adjacent to the border; three whole and two half semicircles of green; four red, and three whole and two half semicircles in white. All of these were outlined with black lines. On the remaining part of the inclosed rectangle, which was covered with white sand, there were four zigzag figures with triangular heads, one yellow, one green, one red, and one white, beginning at the left of the sand picture as one approached it from the ladder. Each of these figures had a single black mark on the neck representing a necklace, and a curved horn on the left side of the head, and was outlined in black. In the existence of horns on these zigzag figures they differ from the sand picture at Walpi, where two have horns and the other two squares, the former representing males and the latter females. The black dots for eyes were seen in all these symbols of lightning, but the small *nakwákwoci* were not put on their necks, and the annulets and cylinders were not observed on the side of the head, as at Walpi. The row of parallel black lines from the semicircles, representing falling rain, were shorter and more numerous than on the Walpi altar.

At each angle of the sand picture there were conical bodies a few inches high, probably of clay, painted yellow, green, red, and white,

¹ *Cüetala*, or "first day" of the second series. It will thus be seen that with the exception of the four snake hunt series rites were abbreviated in the Antelope kiva.



The pahoki or shine in the plaza



The kisi

THE SNAKE DANCE AT CIPAULOV

corresponding with the colors of the cardinal points.¹ At the apices were small feathers.

There were no stone implements on the outer border of the sand picture, as at Walpi, but their places on each side were occupied by a row of clay pedestals, twelve in number on each side, those in each series being placed close together. Each clay pedestal had a straight stick with cornhusk, feather, and string tied to the end. There were none of these sticks at the front of the sand picture, and most of them were not curved at the ends. There were no stone fetishes along the rear of the sand picture, nor stone implements or sticks in pedestals on that side. The *tiponi* was placed back of the extreme right-hand corner, and was separated by a considerable space from the sand picture. Back of the rear edge of the picture, at the right of the median line, there was a small vase and two snake whips standing upright. The floor in front of the picture had about fifteen basket trays, each containing the *pahos* made by individual Antelope priests, and in their midst was the medicine-bowl.

It will be seen that the main points of difference between this altar and that at Walpi are the absence of stone implements, fetishes, and sticks on the front and rear of the picture. The situation of the *tiponi* is different, and there are minor variations in the heads of the lighting symbols and in the arrangement of the sticks and other accessories. The Antelope chief bewailed that his altar was so poor in *wimi* (fetishes), and showed me, in addition to what have been mentioned, a trochid shell and a few rounded stones. I could add to his paraphernalia only a small quartz crystal, which, however, he greatly prized.

The Snake chief at Cipaulovi has no *tiponi*, and consequently no altar. The only objects at the end of the kiva, where the altar would have been had he possessed a *tiponi*, was a row of twenty snake whips leaning against the ledge of the rear wall, behind the *sipapú*. There were two large bags hanging from a peg in the rear wall of the kiva, and on the floor, at one side, four canteens like those which the women use to carry water from the spring to the pueblo. These were full of snakes, and their apertures were stopped with corncobs. The head of an arrowsnake protruded from one of the bags hanging on the wall.

THE CEREMONIES ON THE DAY CALLED TOTOKYA²

On August 22, which was the day before the Snake dance at Cipaulovi, I visited both the Antelope and the Snake kiva at about 9 o'clock a. m. Both kivas displayed a bow tied across the ladder, about 6 feet above the hatch. These bows had red-stained horsehair hanging to the strings, and a few large feathers suspended at intervals. On the roof, about the hatchway, radiating from the entrance, were six lines

¹The Walpi *Lalakonti* altar has four meal cones in the same positions. *American Anthropologist*, April, 1892, p. 116, pl. I, fig. 3.

²The eighth day of all great ceremonials is called *totokya*. *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol.*, Vol. IV.

of meal on a layer of valley sand, which had been evenly sprinkled on the roof of the kiva. When I entered the Antelope kiva, I found eleven priests assembled there, all engaged in making *pahos* and all with red feathers in their hair. Traces of meal, which had been sprinkled by the priests, were seen on the colored sands of the altar; this was probably an evidence that songs had been sung about it the night before, as I was told had been the case, but was not present.

All the *pahos*, with certain exceptions to be noted, were of the length of the middle finger, and were painted green, with red points. Each *paho* was composed of two sticks, one of which, called the female, had a facet at one end. These *pahos* were tied midway of their length, and to them were attached two herbs, called *kurnyû* and *máabe*. When I called the attention of the priests to the fact that at Walpi *pamnabi* was used instead of *máabe*, they replied that both were equally efficacious, and had the same intent. In addition to the green *pahos*, others, painted black, were similarly employed. The pipe-lighter, who, while not the chief, was most communicative, explained the signification of the offerings he made. They were as follows:

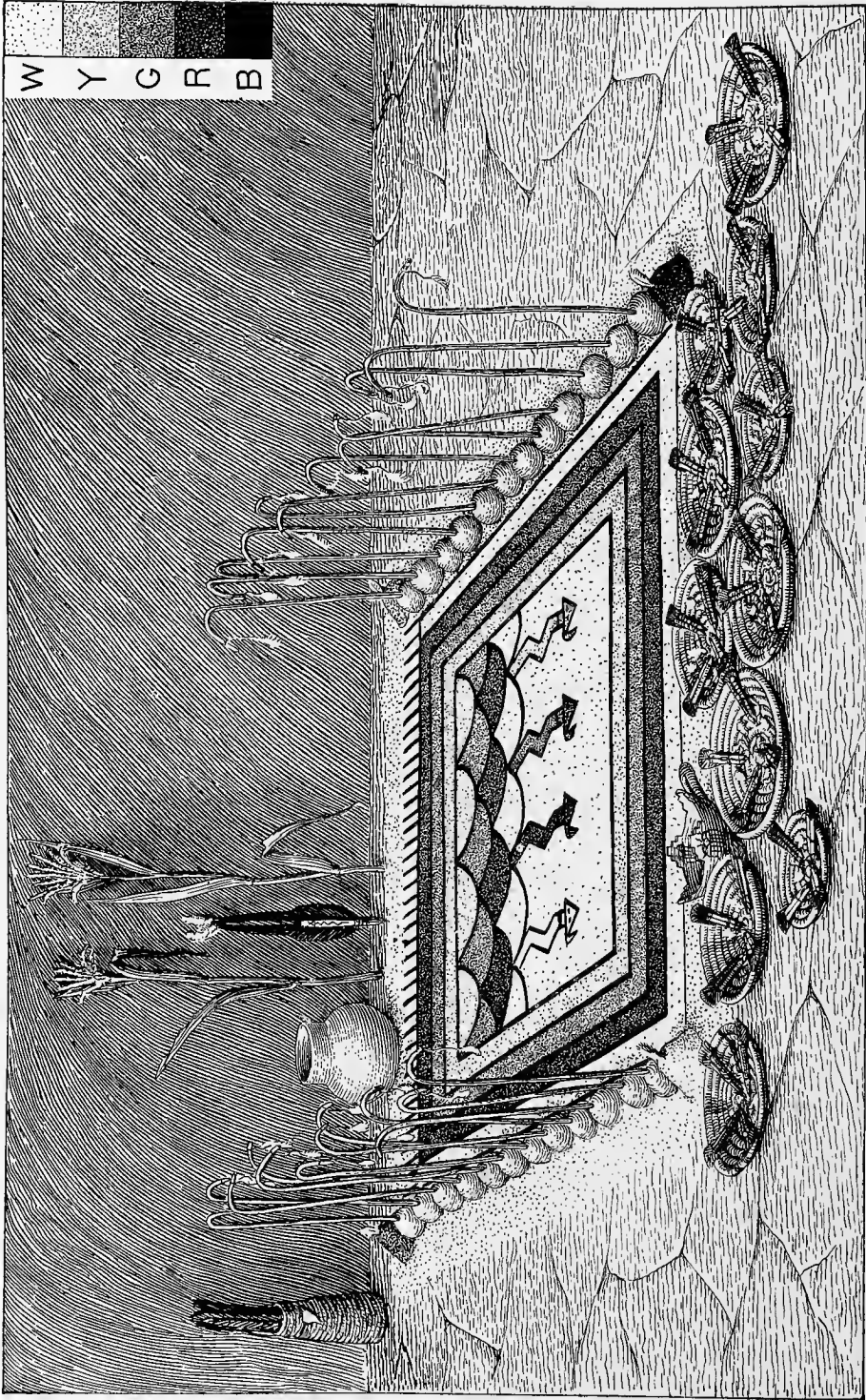
1. A black *paho*.
2. A double-stick green *paho* or *cakwapaho*, with six attached *nakwákwoci*.
3. A green *paho* with green points.
4. A green *paho* with black points.
5. Five white-feathered *nakwákwocis*.

It will be noted that the green *pahos* were of the length of the middle finger, which is very different from the plumed sticks made by the Antelopes at Walpi on the day before the Snake dance, for on that day the Walpians make a *paho* the length of the last two joints of the same finger. On interrogating the priests, I discovered that the Walpi rule was not carried out in Cipaulovi, and that there was no variation in the length of the *paho*.

We have seen how tardy the chief was in making the Antelope altar, and consequently it is apparent why the seven *pahos* of different lengths could not be made, for the sixteen-song celebration was curtailed in the number of presentations, and its equivalent performed only once or twice.

About noon there were brought into the kiva stalks of corn and vines of the bean, cantaloupe, watermelon, and of certain unknown plants. These were done up with yucca thread in two wads or bundles and placed on the altar, after which the man who tied them together smoked on them for some time and then placed the bundles back of the altar. These bundles were carried in the mouth of the participant in the Antelope dance, which, in Cipaulovi as at the other pueblos, occurred at sunset of this day (*totokya*).

At the close of the *paho* making, at about 1.30 p. m., a young man was given a *paho*, the netted gourd, and an ear of corn. He donned a



ALTAR OF THE ANTELOPE PRIESTS AT CIPAULOVİ

ceremonial blanket, and was commissioned to deposit the *paho* in a spring. As no songs were sung, and as he bore an ear of corn and a single *paho*, one would naturally have regarded this youth as a novice, but such was not the interpretation given me by the assembly. When the youth returned, he carried spring water in the netted gourd, and still held the ear of corn. The chief took these from him and laid the netted gourd on a little pile of sacred meal near the altar. On the corn, which he deposited near by, he sprinkled sacred meal. The chief then took the pipe, lighted by the pipe-lighter, and smoked several puffs into the water, kneeling on the floor before it. He then handed the pipe to the young courier, who squatted at his side and smoked in turn.

While this was going on, another young man, who had brought into the kiva a number of willow sticks as thick as a lead pencil and perhaps two feet long, began cutting them into small sections, allowing them to fall into a basket tray. After having made these sections, he moistened them and carried the basket out of the room, placing it on the roof of the kiva, so that the moistened twigs might dry in the sun. Later, several balls of clay, about the size of baseballs, were made and placed in the same basket. These are the objects called the "frog's young," which I have described in my accounts of the Snake and Flute ceremonials at Walpi. The Antelope chief then took a flag leaf, moistened it, and made an annulet, rolling the leaf back and forth, in and out, and when finished he tied to it two small feathers. In all respects this annulet was like that carried by the Flute girls in the Flute ceremony or placed on the heads of the female lightning figures on the sand picture of the Antelope altar at Walpi. It was painted black, and one of the netted gourds was placed upon it by the side of the altar.

By this time, or about 2 o'clock, all the Antelope priests had finished making their *pahos*, and laid them down, each depositing his prayer-sticks in his own basket tray, in front of the altar, as shown in plate LXXI.

The chief carefully swept the floor of the kiva, gathering up all shavings, whittlings, and fragments of herbs. This refuse was placed in a blanket, sprinkled with meal, and carried out. Shortly afterward a priest brought in all the Antelope rattles and deposited them in the corner of the kiva; all these objects are in his keeping, but each priest brought to the room all his other paraphernalia.

THE ANTELOPE DANCE

The Antelope dance at Cipaulovi took place in the larger plaza at 6.20 p. m. on August 22. A *kisi* was erected on the southern part of this open space, about halfway between the central *pahoki*, or shrine, and the arcades through which the priests came from their kivas. A plank, with a hole in it symbolizing the *sipapu*, was let into the ground

immediately before the *kisi*, the entrance to which was closed with a blanket (?) or cloth.

Eleven Antelope and thirteen Snake priests took part in the Antelope dance, and at Cipaulovi, as at Walpi, the whole afternoon was consumed by them in their kivas, costuming for the public exhibition. Shortly before the priests emerged from their rooms, the Antelope chief went over to the Snake kiva, and, without ceremony, asked the Snake chief if he were ready. This was in marked contrast to the formal invitation presented at Walpi, where the Antelope priests sprinkle pinches of sacred meal in the hatchway of the Snake kiva and form a line before it.

Shortly after the return of the Antelope chief to his kiva, the eleven Antelope priests filed out of their secret room, led by their chief. They wore practically the same costume as the Antelopes of Walpi, which seems to be prescribed in all the villages.

The chief carried his *tiponi* across his left arm, and bore in one hand the bow with red horsehair attached to the string. Next to him was a man with the netted gourd, an ear of corn, and a *paho*. There was a third, who later took a position midway in the line and carried a well-filled medicine bowl. Each Antelope wore a ceremonial kilt of white cotton with embroidered ends, ornamented with raincloud symbols in red and dark green. Their faces had a line of white from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and the chin was painted black. They had zigzag lines of white on the breast, arms, and legs; fox-skins depended from their waists behind, turtle-shells were fastened back of the knee, and each was richly ornamented with shell and turquoise necklaces. Every Antelope except the chief and the bearer of the medicine bowl carried two rattles. A few of the participants wore cottonwood leaves in their armlets.

The procession, headed by their chief, filed four times around the plaza, the circuit being sinistral, or with the center on the left hand, but not including the *pahoki*. As the Antelopes passed the shrine they threw a pinch of meal toward it, and as they approached the *kisi* each man dropped a pinch of sacred meal on the plank, and stamped violently upon it. At the end of the fourth circuit they formed a platoon, separated into two sections by the *kisi*, the chief standing at the extreme right. They continued shaking their rattles, but not singing, while the Snake priests made their entrance. No *kalektaka*, with a whizzer, followed the Antelope priests.

The Snake priests, headed by their chief, came shortly afterward. Their chief carried his bow with red horsehair, but had no *tiponi* or other official insignia. The Snake priests followed him, and the line made four circuits of the plaza, embracing the whole rectangle in their course. As they passed the shrine they dropped a pinch of meal upon it, and when in front of the cottonwood bower they did the same, stamping violently on the plank in the ground.

As a rule the Snake priests were appareled similarly to those of Walpi, but the whole face was painted black, with white under the chin and on the neck. Their cheeks were not smeared with the micaceous hematite which gives such a hideous appearance to the Walpi performers.

After the thirteen Snake men had lined up before the eleven Antelopes, who all the time were shaking their rattles, a low song began, the Antelopes being the singers. As the song progressed the Snake men locked arms and stepped backward and forward, while two men, an Antelope and a Snake, ambled backward and forward between the lines of swaying priests. They went to the *kisi* or cottonwood bower and returned to the head of the lines several times. The Antelope priest then took from the *kisi* the wad of cornstalks and vines and put it in his mouth, as the Walpi priests do the snake. The Snake priest accompanied him, placing his left hand on the shoulder of his companion and acting as the "hugger." In this way the two men pranced slowly between the lines of swaying priests, who stepped forward and backward one step, the Antelopes singing and shaking their rattles. The carrier held the wad in his mouth like a pipe, and after a few courses he was relieved by another priest. After this was continued several times, the wad was returned to the *kisi*, the asperger sprinkled water, and the Snake and Antelope priests filed away in turn, each making circuits of the plaza. No warrior with a whizzer accompanied the procession, and although one of the Antelopes wore a garland of cottonwood leaves, he did not call out at the *kisi* the foreign words, "*Tcamahia*, *awahia*," etc.

THE SNAKE RACE

On the morning of August 23, before daybreak, the Antelope priests sang their songs and consecrated the trays of *pahos* before the altar. I regret to record that I was too late to see this ceremony, although I reached the kiva before sunrise. There is every probability that the songs rendered at that time correspond with the sixteen songs, with dramatic accompaniment, which I have observed at Walpi, but as *pahos* were not made in numbers on previous days, it is not probable that a similar ceremony occurred on the other mornings.

When I arrived at the pueblo from my camp near the spring, the "Snake race" was already taking place in the valley between Cipaulovi and Cuñopavi, and all the Antelope priests were seated on the rocky ledge west of the kiva watching for the return of the racers. The race was well attended, many young men from Micoñinovi and Cipaulovi contending, and its termination was clearly visible from the mesa top. It presented no important differences from the Snake race at the other villages; the winner ran up the trail past the Antelope kiva, and the prize seemed to be simply the reputation which it gave him as a runner.

Directly after the return of the racers, a number of boys and girls, who had been standing on the edge of the lower terrace, where lies the trail along which the racers approached the pueblo, started all together

to run up the hill to the town. They carried cornstalks, melons, and other objects, and many of them wore small ceremonial kilts and had their bodies decorated with various pigments. As they approached the houses men and women from the spectators ran down to meet them, and, when possible, seized the objects which the children bore. This afforded much pleasure and amusement, and closely resembled what has elsewhere been described in connection with similar races.

Directly after them came a man personating a warrior. He wore a white kilt and an antelope skin, and at intervals twirled a bullroarer or whizzer. He, unlike the winner in the race, returned to the kiva accompanied by all the other Antelope priests. They sat in a circle about the fireplace, smoking and exchanging terms of relationship. After all had smoked, beginning with the chief and ending with the pipe-lighter, each man took a pinch of ashes in his hand and remained silent, squatting on the floor. One of their number sang in a low tone, and as it continued each man turned his hand about his head several times in a circular pass, spat on the ashes, which he then cast out of the hatch. Immediately afterward a bundle of dried roots was passed about, each priest nibbling a little thereof, after which he spat on his hands and rubbed them over his chest. This ceremony was purificatory in nature.

Many *pahos* were still in the basket trays, and when the winning racer approached, the Antelope chief came out of the kiva and presented one of these to him. At the termination of the race, the warrior¹ bearing the crook deposited the feather, which he wore in his hair, on the Antelope altar.

THE SNAKE DANCE

The Snake dance at Cipaulovi, as in all the other Tusayan pueblos, took place just before sunset; it was well attended by people from the other villages, and included the four Americans in my party. The dance itself was almost identical with that at Walpi, although much smaller in the number of participants.

There were fifteen Antelope and thirteen Snake priests. When the time arrived for the dance, the chief of the Antelopes, who had been dressing in their kiva, went to the hatch of the Snake kiva and asked the Snake chief if he were ready. Immediately after his return, the Antelope priests filed out of their chamber into the plaza where the *kisi* had been erected. Their chief carried his badge of office, or *tiponi*, and he was followed by a priest holding in both hands a medicine bowl and aspergill. This man, however, did not, as in other Snake dances, wear a garland of cottonwood leaves, nor did he cry out the mystic words, "*Tcamahia*," etc., which formed such a conspicuous feature in the Walpi ceremony. There was likewise no personification of a warrior (*kalektaka*) bearing the whizzer or bullroarer.

¹ This was the man who stood at one of the goals in the race.

The Antelope priests made four circuits of the plaza, in the space to the southward and eastward of the shrine and *kisi*, shaking their rattles as they marched, and dropping a pinch of sacred meal in the shrine as they passed it. Each man stamped on the plank before the *kisi*, dropping meal as he did so, and then the whole line formed a platoon facing eastward, where they stood shaking their rattles.

Immediately the Snake men followed, making four circuits of the plaza, their course being much longer than that of the Antelope priests. As each priest passed before the *kisi* in these circuits, he stamped on the plank, after having dropped upon it a pinch of sacred meal. They then lined up in front of the Antelope priests, and sang songs similar to those at Walpi. There was no call, however, to the warrior gods by an asperger. Among other episodes at Cipaulovi, I missed that quivering movement of the snake whips, elsewhere described.

The line of Snake men next divided into groups of three—each trio composed of a “carrier,” a “hugger,” and a “gatherer.” The carrier knelt down before the *kisi*, received a snake from a man within, put it in his mouth, and began the circuit of the plaza. He did not close his eyes, as do the performers at Walpi, and the hugger simply placed one hand on his shoulder. The carrier did not touch the snake, as at Oraibi, after he had placed it in his mouth; and, instead of throwing the reptile from him when he had completed the circuit, he took it out of his mouth and laid it on the ground at a certain place. The gatherer picked up the snake, not confining his attention to the carrier whom he followed, and not first throwing meal to the sun or sprinkling it on the reptile, as at Oraibi. As the carrier started on his circuit, he tucked his *paho* in his belt. The *pahos* used at Walpi were made by the Snake priests; those employed at Cipaulovi were made by the Antelope chief and given to the Snake men.

As the snake carrier left the *kisi*, in his circuit, the asperger sprinkled him with medicine, but no maidens stood near to throw prayer-meal upon them, as at Walpi. After all the snakes had been carried in the mouths of participants in the dance, the Snake chief made a circle of sacred meal about 20 feet in diameter in front of the *pahoki*, and drew in it six meal radii, corresponding to the six cardinal points. The reptiles were then thrown into this ring, and the asperger sprinkled them with medicine, after which the maidens and women threw sacred meal from their basket plaques upon the writhing mass. At a signal the Snake priests rushed to the reptiles, seized as many as they could, and, as at Walpi, departed hastily down the mesa trails and distributed them to the cardinal points. As they left the plaza, a perfect rain of spittle from the spectators on the surrounding housetops followed them.

The subsequent vomiting and feast differed in no essential particulars from the same episodes at Walpi.

There were among the spectators numerous prominent Snake men from Walpi, including Kopeli the Snake chief, Supela his father, and Saliko

his mother. The former did not enter the kivas; and the last mentioned, who came to Cipaulovi the night before the dance, told me she prepared the "antidote" for the priests at Cipaulovi, as at Walpi. In essentials the public Snake dance in the pueblos last mentioned is similar, and the dress of the Snake and Antelope men practically identical. It would seem as if the ceremony were derived from Walpi rather than from Cuñopavi.

The Snake dance at Cipaulovi, as will be seen from the foregoing account, is abbreviated in character, small in number of participants, and curtailed in secret rites. On August 21 (*komoktotokya*), the day before the Antelope dance, the chief went off in search of wood, leaving his altar for a long time, with no one in the kiva for several hours. Such a proceeding may be more primitive, but it never happens at Walpi. While at Walpi the sand picture and altar of the Antelopes are prepared on the first day (*yüñya*), they are not made until the sixth or seventh day at Cipaulovi, or, more accurately speaking, the third day before the Snake dance. This in itself introduces a modification in secret ceremonials. The *awata nateis*, or bows with red horsehair, were not hung upon the ladders before the eighth day, and were first seen on the ninth; at Walpi, they were placed there on the fifth day. All ceremonials with a snake *tiponi* were obviously omitted, and there are several complicated rites at Walpi which probably are absent in the Snake villages of other Tusayan pueblos.

THE CUÑOPAVI SNAKE CEREMONY

GENERAL REMARKS

The ritual of this Tusayan village is less known than that of any other, not a single Cuñopavi ceremony ever having been described. There is, however, evidence that the complete Tusayan ritual is performed at this pueblo, and its age and isolation leads me to suspect that the modifications are of value from a comparative point of view. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I am able, in this article, to present the results of the first study of Cuñopavi ceremonials. Unfortunately, however, I can speak only of the public Snake dance and describe the Antelope altar, since I have not witnessed any of the secret rites pertaining to the ceremony.

The attendance at the Snake dance of Cuñopavi, in 1896, consisted of ten white persons and numerous Indians from the other mesas, in addition to the inhabitants; there were also two Navahos, who had come from a long distance.

THE ANTELOPE ALTAR

The sand mosaic of the Cuñopavi Antelope altar (plate LXXII) was bordered by a margin of sand of four colors—yellow, green, red, and white, separated by black lines—and was of rectangular shape, about the size of the Walpi altar. There were but two rows of semicircular rain-cloud figures in the inclosure of the margin. The first row, adjacent the margin, had four members—yellow, green, red, and white, in sequence, beginning at the right of the row. The second series had five semicircles—yellow, black, yellow, green, and yellow, following the same sequence as the former. There were four zigzag lightning symbols, colored yellow, green, red, and white, each of which had a horn on the right side of the head. At the angles of each lightning symbol there were drawn, with black sand, figures of feathers. The zigzag lightning strokes and the semicircular rain clouds were outlined with black lines, and parallel lines representing falling rain were short and numerous. As at Cipaulovi, there were no stone implements around the margin of the sand picture, but at its four corners there were small cones of clay, each bearing the color of a cardinal point—yellow, green, red, and white, respectively. The front and rear margins of the sand picture, like those of the Cipaulovi altar, were destitute of objects. On each side of the sand picture there were four clay pedestals, two of which bore straight

sticks and two supported sticks crooked at the extremities. The *tiponi* was placed on a small hillock of sand somewhat back of the rear right-hand corner of the sand picture. In the rear of the left-hand corner, leaning against the wall of the kiva, were two rectangular slabs, the symbolism on which was not distinct, recalling the so-called Butterfly virgin slab of the Walpi Antelope altar. Around them were tied strings with appended *nakwákwoci*.

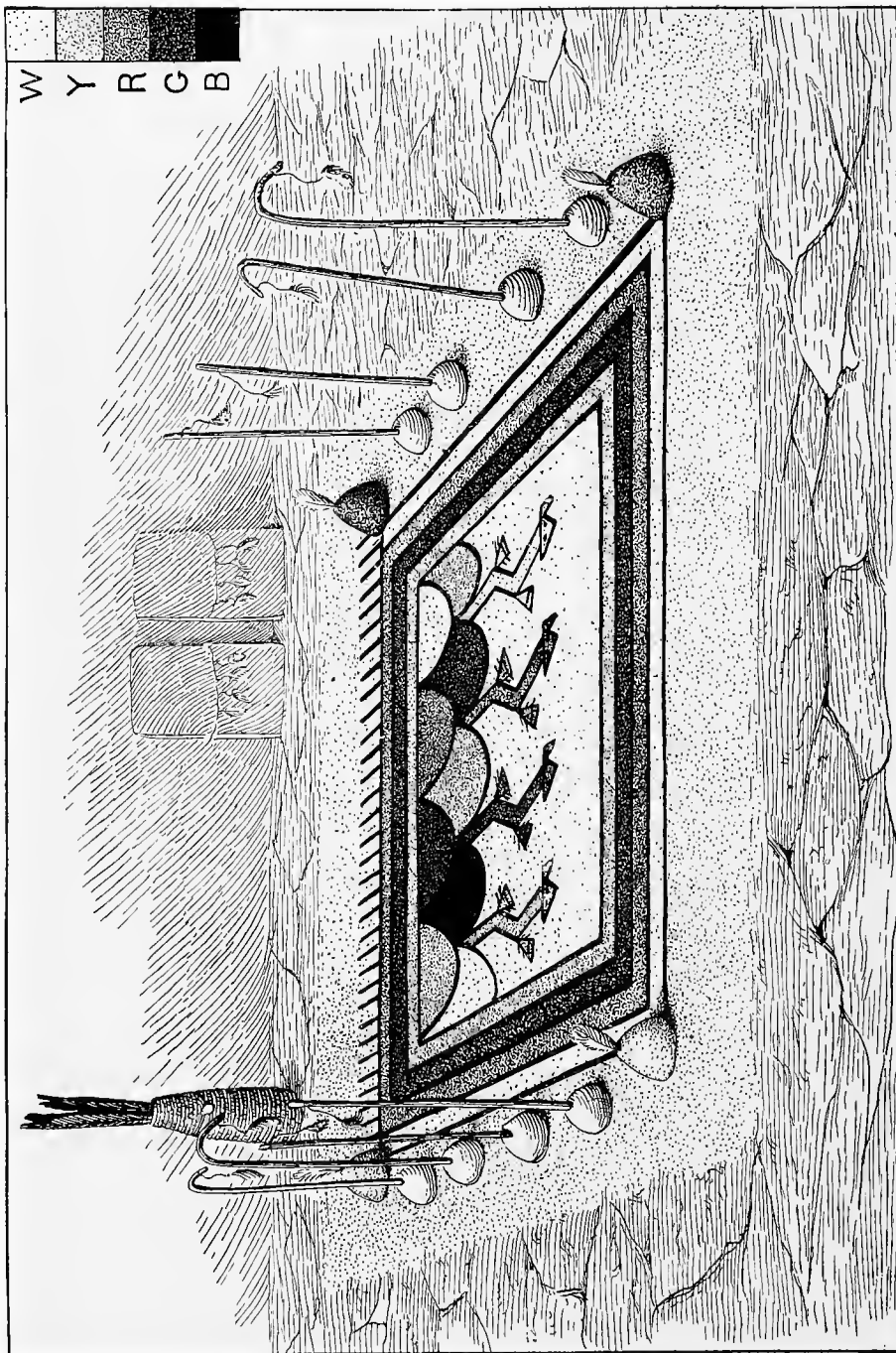
At the time I studied the Cuñopavi altar of the Antelopes there were finger marks on each rain cloud of the sand picture, where the chief had taken a pinch of each colored sand to carry to his field, these being symbolic of the different colored corn which he hoped would grow there.

THE SNAKE DANCE

The Snake dance at the pueblo of Cuñopavi was performed on August 24, and was the only event of this complicated observance which I witnessed. While, therefore, my observations were limited, they constitute the first ever made by an ethnologist in this interesting and little known pueblo. Seventeen Antelope and eighteen Snake priests participated in the ceremony; each Antelope carried two¹ rattles, one in each hand, and there were three small boys among the Antelope priests, one of whom could not have been more than five years of age. The youngest of the lads was naked, but painted like his elders, and when he lined up with the other Antelopes before the *kisi* he held his place without shrinking, even when the venomous rattlesnakes crawled near him, an exhibition of infantile pluck which I have never seen excelled. This is not simply want of fear through ignorance, for again and again in their songs and talks the priests pray that they may not be bitten. He must have known the power of the snakes, but the same belief which controlled his elders gave him courage. The Cuñopavi priests handled the rattlesnakes more fearlessly, if that were possible, than the participants at any of the other pueblos.

The differences noted between the events and paraphernalia of the Antelope and Snake men at Cuñopavi and the other villages were the following: In addition to cottonwood boughs the *kisi* had cornstalks in its construction and a circle of sacred meal was made about it. The costume and body painting of the Antelopes were the same as at Walpi; there was no warrior with a whizzer or bullroarer, and the asperger did not call out the invocation to the cardinal points. The kilts of the Snake priests were as a rule without rattles, and the parallel lines with which the zigzag figure of the plumed snake were marked extended across the figure. The bandolier was cylindrical, the medicine pellets few or wanting.

¹This is an interesting innovation at Cuñopavi. At Walpi and Orsibi each priest carries but one rattle. These rattles are made of buckskin stretched over a pair of circular disks and fastened to a wooden handle; they contain small objects for rattles, and are painted white.



ALTAR OF THE ANTELOPE PRIESTS AT CUÑOPAVI

After the entrance of the Snake and Antelope men and their preliminary songs, which resembled those of Walpi, the Snake chief went inside the *kisi* and passed out the snakes. Before carrying these reptiles, the Snake priests made the circuit of the plaza in trios, the carrier, hugger, and gatherer posing in the same way as when they bear the snakes. This, of course, was subsequent to the four circuits made in line by the Snake priests when they entered the plaza and stamped on the plank before the *kisi*. The snake carrier handled the reptile, as at Walpi, putting it in his mouth, and did not touch it afterward with his hands, as at Oraibi; his eyes were open as at Cipaulovi and Oraibi. The hugger simply placed his hand on the right or left shoulder of the carrier and stood behind him, not putting his arm about the carrier's neck, as at Walpi. After all the snakes had been carried, and while they were in the gatherer's hands, the Snake priests crowded about the entrance to the *kisi*, and something occurred which was not observable to the spectators. The circle of meal was next made some distance away; the reptiles were then thrown within it, and the women sprinkled or threw their plaques full of meal upon the snakes. The priests then rushed in, seized the reptiles, and darted away, as elsewhere described. As they left the plaza all of the spectators spat after them, as at Cipaulovi. Then occurred something which had never before been witnessed in any of the six presentations of the Snake dance which I have observed. Several of the Snake priests did not obtain reptiles from the writhing mass in the ring of meal, and consequently did not rush down the steep mesa trails with those who did, but they made the circuit of the plaza four times before the *kisi*, sprinkled meal on the *sipapû* and stamped on the plank, after which they filed off to their kiva. It was not clear to me whether this was accidental or an unusual modification; but I am inclined to think that the number of reptiles was so few that these priests could not obtain any with which to rush down the mesa, and this way of retiring to their kiva is prescribed in such a case.

THE ORAIBI SNAKE CEREMONY

GENERAL REMARKS

On account of the isolation of the pueblo and the persistent way in which its people have resisted innovations, the presentation of the snake ritual at Oraibi has long been regarded as the most primitive of all the Hopi ceremonials.

In an article¹ on the "Ancient Province of Tusayan," Major Powell partially described an Oraibi ceremony, but too briefly to be identified. So far as I know this was the first account of Tusayan kiva rites. A large oil painting of a Tusayan ceremony and altar has long hung in the pottery court of the National Museum. This painting, I am informed by Major Powell, was made under his direction and represents a scene in a Tusayan kiva. Several priests, apparently engaged in rites about a medicine bowl, are figured, and from the arrangement of the maize of different colors about it I suppose the picture represents the making of charm liquid. The attitude of the priest in the act of blowing smoke into the bowl confirms me in this interpretation.

The representation of the reredos is unlike anything which has been reported from Tusayan. The room has a hatchway, but is unlike any Oraibi kiva which I have seen.

In 1895 I figured and described² the altar of one of the Flute societies at Oraibi. Mr H. R. Voth, a resident missionary, has recently given much time to the study of the Oraibi ritual, and has shown me several sketches of highly characteristic altars, accounts of which he intends later to publish. We are, therefore, on the way to a more exact knowledge of the ceremonials, religious paraphernalia, and altars of this interesting pueblo which has so long resisted the efforts of ethnologists.

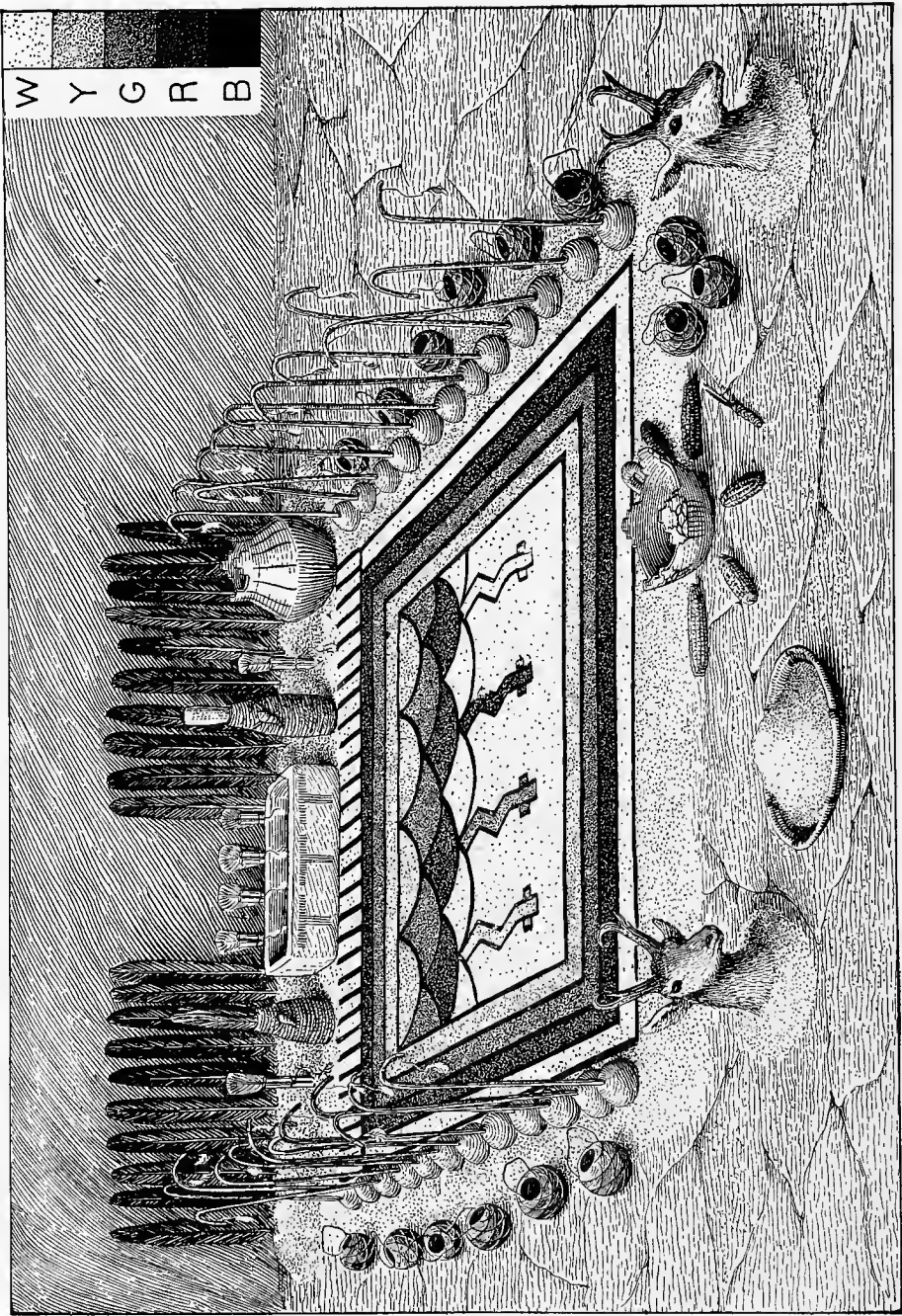
THE ANTELOPE ALTAR

The Antelope priests at Oraibi were not overgenial to strangers wishing to pry into their secret rites, and the Snake priests positively refused to allow me or any white man, except the missionary, Mr Voth, to enter their kiva.³ I entered the Antelope kiva uninvited, but my

¹Scribner's Magazine, Vol. xi, No. 2, New York, December, 1875.

²The Oraibi Flute Altar; Journal of American Folk-lore, Vol. viii, Oct.-Dec., 1895.

³One or two white men told me that they ventured into the Snake kiva when the priests were away and saw nothing there but stone images, probably twins, or the Little War Gods. As the Snake chief at Oraibi has no *tiponí*, he makes no altar, and the stone image was the tutelary god of warriors, known as the Little Gods of War, Püükohoya and Palunhoya.



ALTAR OF THE ANTELOPE PRIESTS AT ORAIBI

presence there was not welcome, and most of the half hour which I spent there was occupied in reasoning with the priests. I succeeded in making a sketch of their altar, but was several times ordered out, and was therefore not loth to leave the kiva when I had finished. There was some little satisfaction in being able to tell the priests of Oraibi in their owu kiva that my studies of Antelope altars in other pueblos enabled me to interpret about every object which theirs possessed, since they were so similar. This, however, was not strictly true as regards all the fetishes, for there were two or three objects on the Antelope altar at Oraibi which are different from those at Walpi, Cipaulovi, and Cuñopavi, and beyond my comprehension.

The size of the Antelope altar at Oraibi (plate LXXIII) was about the same as that of Walpi, and the sand picture almost identical, so that a description of this portion of it would be a duplication of accounts elsewhere published.¹ The sand picture was surrounded by a yellow, green, red, and white border of sand. There were semicircular figures of rain clouds in yellow, green, red, and white, arranged in the same order as at Walpi, and in like sequence. The four lightning symbols, however, differed somewhat, all of these having square appendages to the heads, instead of horns and diagonally marked rectangles. These square appendages, as nearly as I could make out, were on both sides of the heads, but accuracy in this minute particular was next to impossible. There were no stone hoes about the border of the sand picture, as at Walpi. Along each side was a row of clay pedestals, in each of which were inserted straight or crooked sticks, to the tops of which were attached red-stained *nakwákwocis*. They were arranged side by side and there were no breaks or "gateways," as at Walpi. At the side of each crook a small netted gourd was placed. At the end of each line of sticks, one on each side of the altar, there was a head of an antelope, with horns, nose, and neck. These objects are not found on the Antelope altars of Walpi, Cipaulovi, or Cuñopavi, and are significant accessories in the secret ceremonials.

The floor in front of the altar had no pedestals with upright sticks, but upon it was a medicine bowl, the six-directions corn, and an aspergill.

The rear of the altar was strikingly different from that of any Antelope altar which has been described. There were no stone fetishes of animals, as at Walpi, and although the two *tiponis* were present, both of these belonged to the Antelopes. The Snake society at Oraibi, as at Cipaulovi and Cuñopavi, has no palladium or *tiponi*. These two objects stood just in the rear of the margin of the sand picture, one on each side of a square medicine bowl, which occupied the middle and therefore corresponds in position to the mountain-lion fetish on the Walpi altar. Projecting from the top of the left-hand *tiponi* was an object which, from my point of observation, resembled a stone implement, but

¹Jour. Amer. Eth. and Archaeol., Vol. iv, pp. 17-24.

in other respects the two *tiponis* resembled those of the Walpi altar. *Pahos* were placed upright near each *tiponi*, and from one of these a long string, with feathers tied to the extremity, was stretched across the sand picture.

The medicine bowl back of the altar had three T-shape figures painted upon it, and behind this vessel there were four *pahos* placed upright with strings drawn over the top of the medicine bowl. At the extreme left of the rear of the altar there was an ancient vase with terraced elevations. Back of all the objects at the rear of the altar there was a ridge of sand in which was inserted a row of eagle wing feathers. Between the rows of crooks and the lateral margin of the sand picture long *pahos* were laid lengthwise on the floor. A basket of sacred meal was placed on the floor near the right-hand effigy of an antelope head.

It will be seen from an examination of the details of the Antelope altar of Oraibi and comparison with those of Cipaulovi, Cuñopavi, and Walpi, that it is the most complicated and has several objects not elsewhere duplicated. Moreover, the arrangement of the objects back of the altar is such that it would be quite strange, indeed almost impossible, for the Antelope chief to introduce several of the events which occur in the sixteen-song celebration at Walpi.

THE ANTELOPE DANCE

The Antelope or Corn dance at Oraibi took place at sunset, as in the other villages, but it was not so brilliant a spectacle nor was it performed by so many priests as at Walpi. The Antelope priests, headed by their chief, marched directly from their kiva to the *kisi*, and made four circuits of the plaza, each priest stamping on the depressed plank as he passed before it.

After they had formed a platoon, the Antelope chief drew a line of meal in front of them, and at the extreme end of this line he set his *tiponi* upright on the ground. At one side of this badge, also on the line of meal, the asperger deposited his medicine bowl. Each Antelope then placed the netted gourd and stick which he carried on the ground before him, so that all these objects were arranged in a row before the platoon of Antelope priests.

The Snake men came out of their kiva and made four circuits of the plaza in front of the line of Antelope priests, who shook their rattles as the Snakes passed before them. Each Snake priest dropped a pinch of meal and stamped vigorously on the plank as he passed the *kisi*, and then took his place in line before the platoon of Antelope priests. They were led by their chief, an old man, who, however, had no badge of office on his arm. The Antelope priests wore feathers in their hair and a small white feather on the crown of the head. The asperger was distinguished by a fillet of cottonwood leaves. Their bodies were painted with zigzag lines in white, but all wore heavy shell and turquoise necklaces. Each priest, except the asperger, carried a rattle in the right hand and a stick and water gourd in the left.



Entrance and circuit of the Antelope priests



Entrance of the Snake priests

THE ANTELOPE DANCE AT ORAIBI



Platoons of Antelope and Snake priests at the opening of the dance



Snake priests shaking their whips

THE ANTELOPE DANCE AT ORAIBI



Line of Antelope priests



The asperger carrying the wad of cornstalks and bean vines

THE ANTELOPE DANCE AT ORAIBI

The chief bore his *tiponi* over his left arm. All wore white dance kilts with rain-cloud decorations, and a characteristic sash. Several had bandoliers of yarn over the right shoulder and a hank of wool on the left knee, but none of the Antelope priests wore moccasins and but few had fox-skins dangling from their belts. The position of the chief was at the extreme right of the line. An old Antelope priest carried an ear of corn.

Each of the Snake priests wore a small red feather in his hair, but their faces were not painted; all, however, had daubs of white pigment on their arms and legs. Several had hastily tied white kilts, similar to those of the Antelopes, about their loins, and only two had the characteristic snake kilts. Each carried his snake whip in his right hand, a bag of meal in his left, and most of the performers wore moccasins. None had necklaces, fox-skins, or bandoliers. The platoon of Snake men stood some distance from the Antelopes, with a lad on the extreme right. As the Antelopes sang and shook their rattles, the Snake men bent slightly forward, pointing their whips toward the ground, then moving them backward and forward with a waving motion. As the music continued, the asperger, not leaving his position by the side of the Antelope chief, called out in a low voice the words "*Tcamahia*," etc, several times.

After he had ceased, he went to the opening of the *kisi*, and took out one of the bundles of cornstalks, melons, and other vines, put the butt in his mouth, holding the other end in both hands before him. A second priest, putting his left hand on the left shoulder of the asperger, walked behind the carrier, stroking his back with a snake whip. In this way the two made several promenades between the platoons of Snake and Antelope priests, the former singing and shaking their rattles, all with netted gourds and sticks in their left hands. As this proceeding continued the Snake priests stepped backward and forward in line, poising themselves first on one leg and then on the other.

At the conclusion of this dance the Snake priests filed about the plaza, making the circuits before the *kisi*, and returned to their kiva. The Antelope priests did the same, but went to their own ceremonial chamber. This closed *totokya* (August 18), so far as public ceremonies were concerned.

THE SNAKE RACE

A snake race of Oraibi took place at sunrise of the same day on which the Snake dance was celebrated, as at Walpi, Cipayulovi, and Cuñopavi.

THE SNAKE DANCE

At a short time before sunset, on August 19, the Antelope priests filed out of their kiva and made four circuits in front of the *kisi*, each stamping on the plank and dropping a pinch of meal as he passed. They were headed by the chief, who carried his *tiponi* on his left forearm. The chief in turn was followed by the asperger, who wore a

chaplet of cottonwood leaves and carried a medicine bowl and aspergill with both hands. Each Antelope wore a white "breath-feather" in his hair, which hung down his back, but none had a bunch of feathers on his head. The chin was painted black and there was a white line along the upper border of the black from ear to ear across the upper lip. All wore necklaces of shell or turquoise and each was adorned with zigzag lines of white pigment along the body, on each breast, from shoulder to belt, continued on the back on each side to the waist. There were also zigzag white lines on the arm, and the forearm was painted white. Each wore a bandolier of woolen yarn over the right shoulder, and everyone, save the asperger, carried a rattle in the right hand. All the dancers wore kilts and embroidered sashes, with pendent fox-skins behind, and all had moccasins. Thus appareled they lined up in a platoon, the chief at the left, the *kisi* midway in the line, shaking their rattles while awaiting the Snake priests.

The Snake priests then came from their kiva headed by their chief, who had no *tiponi*. Each Snake priest wore a bunch of feathers in his hair, and curious feathered objects on the back of the head. Their faces were blackened, but there was no white paint on the chin. All wore shell and turquoise necklaces, armlets, and wristlets, and daubs of white on their foreheads, breasts and backs.

Their kilts were colored red, with zigzag figures of the plumed snake, bearing tripod-shape and alternate parallel bars as ornaments. Less than half their number had a fringe of antelope hoofs on the lower edge of the kilt; all wore fox-skins pendent from their loins, turtle-shell rattles on the leg, moccasins stained red with sesquioxide of iron, and red wristlets. Each carried a snake whip. After the preliminary forward and backward steps, and after shaking their whips in unison with the songs of the Antelopes, they divided into groups of three, called carrier, hugger, and gatherer.

The snakes are carried at Oraibi in a way peculiar to this pueblo and differently from that adopted in any other Tusayan village. The posture of the hugger is likewise exceptional. When the carrier approaches the *kisi* in which the snakes are confined, he places his whip in his belt, seizes the reptile, puts its neck in his mouth, with head pointing to his left, and grasps the body of the snake with his two hands, the right above the left. The carrier does not close his eyes, and he takes but one reptile at a time. In this way he ambles about the plaza in a circle, the center toward his left. When he has completed the circuit, he takes the reptile from his mouth and lays it on the ground, with the head pointing away from the *kisi*. The hugger follows the carrier, placing his left hand on the left shoulder of the carrier, whose back he strokes with the snake whip. He stands behind the carrier, and not at his side, as at Walpi. The gatherer picks up the reptiles after they have been placed on the ground. If the reptile coils for defense, he strives to make him uncoil by movements of the whip; otherwise he takes a little



Entrance of the Antelope priests



Circuit of the Antelope priests before the kisi

THE SNAKE DANCE AT ORAIBI



Antelope priests awaiting the Snake priests at the kisi



Preliminary circuit of the Snake priests in the Antelope dance

THE SNAKE DANCE AT ORAIBI



The dance before the reptiles are taken from the kisi



The snake carrier and the hugger

THE SNAKE DANCE AT ORAIBI

sacred meal, says a prayer, casts a pinch to the setting sun, sprinkles a little on the head of the reptile, and suddenly grasps the snake back of the head. The gatherers collect the snakes whenever dropped by the carriers, and hold them in their hands as the others are borne about the plaza.

The women did not stand in line and sprinkle the Snake priests with meal as they passed with their burdens, but when the reptiles were thrown in a heap, after the dance, both maids and matrons emptied trays of meal upon the snakes on the ground.

After all the reptiles had been carried about the plaza in the way indicated above, they were thrown in the middle of a ring of sacred meal, marked with six radii, also of meal, corresponding to the cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir. At a signal the Snake priests rushed to the circle, seized all the snakes they could gather, and darted off with them down the mesa sides to the four quarters, where the reptiles were deposited. Later they returned, divested themselves of their scanty clothing, retired to a secluded spot, bathed, took an emetic (?), and vomited. The Antelopes meanwhile made four circuits in front of the *kisi* and retired to their kiva. As at Walpi, the Snake men feasted at nightfall, not having tasted food on the day of the dance.

In reviewing the details of the Snake dance at Oraibi, as described above, we are impressed, first, with the small number of participants, eleven Antelope and fifteen Snake priests; secondly, with the peculiar manner of carrying the reptiles; and, thirdly, with the lack of brilliancy in the personal adornment of the performers. The entrance of the Snake chief, Kopeli, at Walpi, followed by his band, is a most striking affair, full of life and startling in character. At Oraibi this part is very tame in comparison, without dash or excitement, and fails in vigor, energy, and power. The number of participants at Oraibi, not a third of those at Walpi, is also disappointing to one who has seen the dance at the East Mesa. I can, however, well believe that the Oraibi Snake dance more closely resembles that of Walpi before the advent of so many visitors, than does the present exhibition at the latter pueblo. Everything at Walpi shows a vigorous cult, a popular society, an earnestness as great as at Oraibi, but the primitive character of the whole is somewhat spoiled by the introduction of gaudy ribbons, ornaments, and personal decorations purchased from the trader.

DIFFERENCES IN ACCESSORIES

GENERAL REMARKS

The most striking differences in such events as were witnessed in the Snake dance presentations thus far recorded have been noted in the preceding pages. None of them are of sufficient importance to indicate more than local modifications. The strong likenesses which one ceremony bears to the other indicate the same cult and a common origin.

It would, I believe, be a little short of puerile to ascribe the Snake ceremonials in the different Tusayan pueblos to independent evolutions, so close are their similarities in details and so definite are the legends of their common origin. There is, however, an aspect of the study of Snake dances among other pueblos which merits more serious attention, to the intelligent discussion of which exact data on the Tusayan variants may be of value. From a study of the amount of variation in the same rite in these five pueblos, we may obtain a knowledge of the limits of variants which will be of service in comparative studies.

The following are some of the features in the Snake ceremonies which, I am told, did not occur at Oraibi¹ and Cipaulovi:

I. The singing of a series of sixteen songs on the first four days.

II. The personification of the bear and puma, and accompanying rites.

III. Ceremonial mixing of Snake medicine.

As there was no Snake altar at Oraibi, Cipaulovi, or Cuñopavi, the reptiles were not thrown across the room, but simply dried on the sand, as at Sia.

Both at Oraibi and Cipaulovi, *pahos* of different lengths corresponding to different days and distance of shrines were not made, and as this is a prominent feature in the Walpi variant, its absence has profoundly modified the attendant rites at the other villages, imparting to them many modifications.

PAHOS

Most of the *pahos* or prayer-sticks made at Cipaulovi on the day before the Snake dance were of the length of the middle finger, while at Walpi they are of the length of the ultimate joint. One of the component sticks has a flat facet, whereas at Walpi neither has a face. The stick with a facet upon it is the female; the other, the male.

¹Mr H. R. Voth has made elaborate studies of the secret rites of the Oraibi Snake dance, from beginning to end. His observations, when published, will no doubt throw a flood of light on the unknown portions of the ceremonial.



The Orabi performance



The Cipaulovi performance

SNAKE PRIESTS WITH REPTILES

Of all the suggestions that have been offered to explain the *paho* on comparative grounds, none seem to me more worthy of acceptance than that it is a sacrifice by symbolic substitute. The folktales of the Pueblos are not without reference to human sacrifice, and offerings of corn or meal would be natural among an agricultural people like the Hopi. Substitutes for human sacrifices to the gods were sometimes made by the Aztecs in the form of dough images, so that the method by substitution, common in Europe, was not unknown in America. When occasion demanded, the Hopi legend says, they sacrificed a child and their chief, but in these days sacrifice has come to be a symbolic substitute of products of the field—corn, flour, or *pahos*—still retaining, however, the names “male” and “female,” and with a human face painted on one end of the prayer-stick.

THE KISI

Each of the four pueblos of Tusayan where the Snake dance is celebrated has a *kisi* or bower made of cottonwood boughs, near which the Snake dance is celebrated, and in which the reptiles are confined before they are carried about the plaza. These *kisis* are all very similar in their construction, the only difference which I have detected being the use of cornstalks¹ and reeds with the cottonwood boughs in the Oraibi celebration. All were closed in front by a wagon-sheet or cloth.

The *kisi* at Oraibi is placed in the open space west of the town, that of Cipaulovi in the main plaza, and that of Cuñopavi in the plaza between the westernmost and inner row of houses. The vicinity of the *kisi* to a shrine is peculiar to Cipaulovi.

SNAKE WHIPS

The snake whips of the Middle Mesa pueblos are made of two sticks instead of one, as at Walpi, and in some instances have attached packets of cornhusk, presumably containing prayer-meal, which are absent on the Walpi snake whips. These may thus be regarded as true *pahos* or prayer-sticks. The neat little fringed bags of buckskin, in which the Snake priests of Walpi carry their sacred meal, I did not see at Cipaulovi or Oraibi, where the meal bags were large and coarse.

SNAKE KILTS

The snake kilts vary in no important detail in the different villages, except that they are sometimes made of deer or antelope skin, sometimes of cloth, but are always stained red. The zigzag figure in the middle of the kilt is decorated with crossbars alternating with tripod figures, or simple parallel lines. The kilts of the Middle Mesa and Oraibi generally have these bars extending across the figure of the

¹ In the Sia variant cornstalks are said to be used in the construction of the “grotto,” which Mrs Stevenson describes as “a conical structure of cornstalks bearing ripe fruit.” This “grotto” I regard as the Sia equivalent of the Tusayan *kisi*.

snake. The lower fringe may be of tin cones or antelope hoofs, or they may be destitute of all appendages, according to the pueblo. Tin cones are universal at Walpi.

The feathers on the heads of the Snake priests vary in the different pueblos, especially those hanging downward on the hair behind. The antelope kilts are similar, and the sashes, fox-skins, and belts identical. The other striking differences have been mentioned in the account of the dance in each pueblo.

The absence at Cipaulovi, Cuñopavi, and Oraibi of the personification of the *kalektaka*, or warrior, who carries the bow and arrow, and who twirls the whizzer, is noteworthy. At Walpi this personage appears in the rear of the line of Antelopes as they enter the plaza, then stands at the extreme left of the platoon, and is the last to leave the *kisi* at the close of the dance. He uses the whizzer at critical times in the ceremony, and has appeared in the three Walpi Snake dances which I have witnessed. He was not, however, seen in any of the villages where this ceremony was celebrated in 1896.

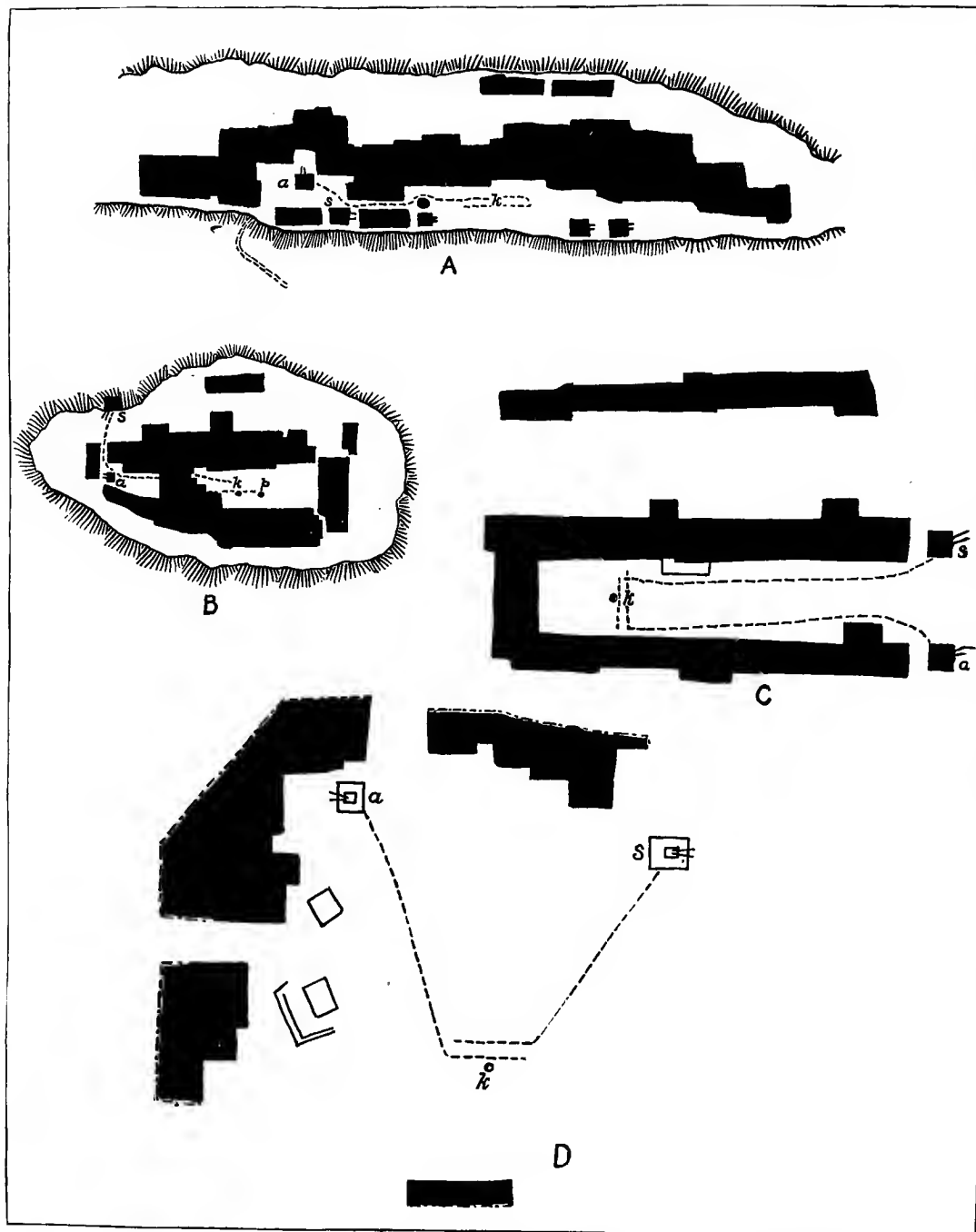


DIAGRAM SHOWING POSITIONS OF KIVAS, KISIS, SHRINES, AND PARTICIPANTS IN THE SNAKE CEREMONIALS

a, Walpi

b, Cipayulovi

c, Cuñopavi

d, Oraibi

THEORETIC DEDUCTIONS

When we attempt to analyze the Tusayan ritual, we are led to suspect that the similarities in the great ceremonials are in part results of composition. The Tusayan people have been made up of increments, which have gradually assimilated, as history and legends describe. Each of these additions brought its own ceremonials, some of which were still practiced, and have been transmitted to descendants, surviving to the present day. The ritual has thus come to be one of composition, not of replacement.

Christianity had a like reception when it came among the pueblos. It was engrafted on the Pagan system, and so long as it was not thought to be aggressive it was welcomed; but so soon as the new cult sought to replace existing rites, it encountered resistance. Each priesthood held that its rites were efficacious, and those of associate societies were likewise good; but when any one of these priesthoods declared those of another bad, a position which to their minds was illogical, since the priests of one fraternity do not know the secret rites of another, an unusual condition arose. As history shows, there was no objection to Christianity at its advent, and it took its place with numerous Tusayan cults, in their system; but the attempt to overthrow the latter led to the hostilities which culminated in 1700.

The several components which formed the Tusayan people practiced ceremonials similar in general character, but different in details. As they became united, each retained certain of its ceremonials, which have been transmitted to our time. The similarities we detect show how close these components were.

The comparative studies of the Snake presentation which I have made in the three pueblos that celebrate this drama in the even years have led me to the conclusion that in my previous publications sufficient emphasis has not been placed on the corn worship which runs through it. The recognition of this element I owe more especially to studies of the Flute ceremonials, which, as I have insisted, are in many respects akin to the Snake dances.

As will be seen by a study of the altars of the Antelope priests, they are destitute of any idol, so that no clew can be obtained from that source in regard to the deity addressed. There are in each, however, figures of rain clouds, which prove, so far as they go, the correctness of the belief that rain worship is at least one of the most prominent features. The fetish of the War god in the Snake kiva of Oraibi is

evidently a special feature as a guardian of warriors, and of small significance in a broad discussion of the meaning of the Snake dance.

Looking over the participants in the secret ceremonials of the Antelope kiva of Walpi, there are but two celebrants whom we can identify as personators. The Antelope priests, save possibly their chief, are simply celebrants, but the boy and girl who stand in the corners of the kiva must be something more; they represent some personage, and consequently I have reflected on their identity. The names given me for these two children are the Snake-youth and the Snake-maid. These names are, I believe, simply cultus-hero names applied to them because of the societies which celebrate the rites. Who the Snake-boy really is I am not yet prepared to say, but I think the Snake-maid is simply a personation of the Corn-maid, and these are my reasons for that belief:

A supernatural being or mythological conception may be represented by Hopi priests in several ways. There are three methods which occur to me—(1) a symbolic picture, (2) an image, and (3) a personification by a man, woman, or child. Designs on the reredos of altars, sand mosaics, altar slabs, and the like, are examples of the first. The rain clouds on the Antelope sand picture, the painted sun disks in the *Palilükonti* screen drama, are symbolic of the supernaturals which they represent. Images likewise represent certain gods; but they are not the gods, only symbols in graven forms, as figures are symbolic pictures. The third and highest form are personifications by men, women, or children. When necessity compels, or for practical reasons, these personifications are simply represented by symbols, effigies, or idols. Instead of a man representing the sun, we have a painted disk. This is carried out in different presentations of the same ceremony accordingly as it is elaborated or abbreviated. Thus, in one presentation of the *Mamzrduti* a woman was dressed like a certain goddess, but in another this personification was replaced by a picture of this supernatural on a board; both had the same name, both the same intent. Practical reasons led to a personification in one and a symbolic picture in the other presentation of the ceremony.

Bearing this thought in mind, let us return to a study of the Snake-maiden. When we compare her with other personifications in the Tusayan ritual, we find she is clothed in precisely the same manner, wears the same symbols, and in every way is identical with the girls in the Flute ceremony; she is, in fact, the same personage. Our studies, therefore, naturally lead us to ask who the girls of the Flute ceremony represent. We have more to guide us in this search.

The girls in the Flute are called the *Lenya-manas*, or Flute-maids, a name applied also to certain figurines on the Flute altars. This name is likewise a sacerdotal totem name of cultus heroes or tutelary deities of a Flute society.

The images of the Flute-maids on the altar represent the Corn or Germ maids. Of that there is proof, because they are sometimes

called by that name and they have figures of corn painted on their bodies. Images of the same, highly elaborated into dolls, are known by the secular name, *Calako* (Corn) maids. These dolls have characteristic symbols on the cheeks, the same rain-cloud ornaments on the head, a figure of an ear of corn on the forehead, eyes of different color, and painted chins. A *Calako-mana* is the same as the effigy of the Flute-maid on the Flute altars, only with another name. In the *Lálakonti* she is called the *Lakone*-maid, and in the *Mamzráuti* the *Mamzráu*-maid, indicative of the society on whose altars they stand, just as the *Lenya*-maid in the *Lenya* or Flute society. All are special names of the same personage, the Corn-maid, *Müiyinwá*, the Mother of Germs.

In the secret ceremonials of the Flute it is not practicable to have a personification of the Corn-maid standing for nine days and nights near the altar, and she is therefore represented by an effigy, which is the image spoken of. But it is not desirable that the uninitiated should see this image, consequently it is not brought out on the plaza in public ceremonials. For this reason, at that time the girls personify the Corn-maids. Hence the two maids in the Flute ceremonials represent the same supernaturals as the images. They are the Corn-maids of legends, the Germ-girls, the Mothers of Germs, *Müiyinwá*. If the *Lenya-manas* are the Corn-maids, then *Tciia-mana*, the Snake virgin, *Lakone-mana*, the *Lakone* virgin, and *Mamzráu-mana* are the same. The girl in the Antelope dramatization is therefore a Corn-goddess.

Let us see if the theory that the *Tciia-mana* and the *Lenya-mana* are Corn-goddesses is supported on other grounds.

The Snake-maid in the dramatization¹ holds a bowl, stalks of corn, and bean vines; the Flute girls carry flat wooden slats, called corn *pahos*, on which corn is depicted. The chins of both are blackened, like the image of the *Lakone-mana*, Corn-maid. The entrance of the Flute girls into the town on the ninth day of the Flute ceremony corresponds, according to legends, with the entrance of the Corn-maids. The Snake-maids whom Tiyo is reported to have brought from the underworld, personified by the *Tciia-mana* in the Antelope rites, wore clouds on her head, as do the images of the Flute maids and the girls who personate the *Lakone-mana* in the public dance. She brought all kinds of corn; so likewise the various others with whom she is identical. The so-called Snake-maid is, therefore, simply one of the Corn-maids, and the dramatization² in the Antelope kiva at Walpi is connected with her worship.

In ancient ceremonies we may conjecture that the gods were personified in the kivas by men or women dressed in an appropriate way and bearing prescribed symbols. In course of time, however, for practical or other reasons, images or symbolic pictures were substituted for

¹Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 69, 76. The corn stalks and bean vines are carried in the bowl called the *patne*, q. v.

²Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 76-81.

personifications. The secret ceremonials of the Antelopes are still in that archaic condition, and the Corn-maid is still represented at Walpi by a girl of the pueblo. In the Flute rites, however, the Germ-maids or Corn-maids are represented in the secret ceremonials by effigies on the altar, and in the public part of the dance by persons—maidens of certain prescribed clans.

In the *Lálakonti* we have the same images of Corn-maids as on the Flute altars, and personifications of the same by girls in the public dance. In the *Mamzráuti* the conditions are the same as in the *Lálakonti*.

Were it desirable to extend our comparisons beyond the boundaries of Tusayan to Cibola, we should there find the personifications taken by maids representing the Corn-maids in the *Klahewey* and *Hamponey*, as I have elsewhere¹ described.

By a similar course of reasoning by which we have determined the identity of *Tciia-mana* (Snake virgin), *Lenya-mana* (Flute virgin), *Lakone-mana* (Lakone virgin), and *Mamzráu-mana* (Mamzráu virgin), the associate male or boy, called *Tciia-tiyo*, *Lenya-tiyo*, *Lakone-tiyo*, and *Mamzráu-tiyo* would also appear to be society names of the same personage. In the Walpi Snake-Antelope ceremony he carries a reptile; in the Micoñinovi Flute altar his effigy bears a flute; in the Walpi *Lálakonti* he is *Cotokinunwú*, a Sky god. The only intimation of his identity would seem to be suggested by the last mentioned. He is the renowned cultus hero appearing in different guises in these four ceremonials. In one of the variants of the Snake legend, however, he is called White-corn, an attributal name, no doubt, which varies in the different ceremonials or religious fraternities.

Two variants of the legend of the Snake society have been published which apparently differ very greatly, but which in essentials are similar, although neither of these pretends to be accurate in details. In the variant first referred to,² one of seven brothers, named from different colored corn, sought and found a maiden in a cave inhabited by Snake people, under guidance of a snake. These maidens were dancing, and the great snake chief "took hold of a cloudy substance," and began pulling, when a girl, "Bright-eyes," emerged, and was given to him as a wife. Under her direction, "White-corn," the youth, sought his home, and his bride was known as *Tciawüqti*. When they joined his kindred, it was "noticed" (recognized) that in times of drought her prayers for rain were efficacious. The people desired her to erect the rain-cloud altar of her native home, to which she replied, "Not until a child is born." She later conceived (in a tempest), and the people were glad, because they hoped for a rain chief. White-corn and his wife retired to a distant mesa, and after seven days returned with her offspring, seven reptiles. The people sought in their disappointment to

¹Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. I, pp. 46-55.

²Legend of the Snake order of the Hopi as told by outsiders. Journ. American Folk-lore, Vol. I, 1888. Snake ceremonials at Walpi; Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, 1894.

kill the brood, but an old man took them with the mother and father to his house. Something of unknown character happened in that house, and the Snake-woman, her offspring, and the old man vanished. The old man came back alone; the Snake-woman never returned. There are many details which I have omitted, but the essentials to which I would call attention are that a young man, after many adventures, found in a cave inhabited by Snake people a maid, whom he brought to the home of his own kin. She gave birth to reptiles and disappeared. The name of the young man was White-corn; the Snake-maid was associated with rain clouds.

The incidents of the second variant are more detailed. I need not mention them, but will restrict my account to the main outline.

A youth, under guidance of Spider-woman, visited the underworld and had many adventures with several mythic beings. He entered a room where people were clothed in snake skins, and was initiated into mysterious ceremonials, in which he learned prayers which bring corn and rain. He received two maids, associated with clouds, who knew the songs and prayers efficacious to bring rains. He carried them to the upper world to his own people. One, the Snake-woman, he married; the other became the bride of the Flute-youth. His wife gave birth to reptiles. He left them and their mother, and migrated to another country.¹

When we examine the legend of this youth, Tiyo, and his adventures in search of the two maids, we see still other evidences of the germ-worship or corn-worship referred to above. In the Snake kiva of the other world the chief told him, "Here we have abundance of rain and corn; in your land there is but little; so thus shall you use the *nahû* [charm liquid to bring them]; fasten these prayers in your breast; and these are the songs you shall sing, and these the *pahos* you shall make (for that purpose); and when you display the white [zigzag lines of kaolin] and the black on your bodies, the clouds will come." When the chief gave Tiyo portions of the different colored sands from the altar, he said, "These are the colors of the corn Tiyo's prayers will bring"—that is, symbols of corn. He gave the two corn-rain maids² into Tiyo's keeping—one for himself and one for his younger brother (presumably the Flute chief).

I believe, however, we should not seek to identify too minutely the details of myths or legends in ceremonial proceedings, for undoubtedly the Hopi variants are more or less distorted, changed, and otherwise modified in recital, translation, and transmittal.

The main points are, however, comparable; a cultus hero sought a mythic land blessed with abundance, and brought from that favored place the corn-rain maids, whose worship was powerful in bringing food and rain.

¹ Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archaeol., Vol. iv, pp. 106-119.

² These maids were enveloped by white fleecy clouds; the effigies of the Corn-maids have symbols of clouds on their heads.

Stripped of poetic embellishment, the legend has a practical interpretation. The two necessities, corn and rain, failed the ancient Hopi at some early epoch in their history, so that they were in danger of starvation, when one of their number, furnished with prayer offerings as sacrifices, sought other people who knew prayers, songs, and rites to bring the desired gifts. In order to learn these charms, he was initiated into their priesthood by this foreign people, and to make that adoption complete, married one of their maids, and, to save his brethren, he brought his bride and offspring to live with his own people. Her children were like those of her family (the Snake clan) and unlike his, and hence trouble arose between them. The mother returned to her own land and the father also sought a new home. Their children inherited the prayers and songs which bring corn and rain, and they were ancestors of the present Snake people.¹

So it is, I believe, that every year, when the proper time comes, the men of the Snake family who have been initiated into the Snake fraternity, and the descendants to whom these prayers, songs, and fetishes were transmitted, assemble, and in order that their work may resemble the ancestral, and thus be more efficacious, they gather the reptiles from the fields, dance with them as of old, personating their "mother," the Corn and Mist maids, in the kiva dramatization, and at the close of the dance say their prayers in hearing of the reptiles that they may repeat them to higher deities. In other words, they strive to imitate the conditions, so far as possible, which tradition ascribes to that favored place of the Snake people, where corn is plentiful and rain abundant. The worship of a Great Snake plays no part, but the dance is simply the revival of the worship of the Snake people as legends declare it to have been practiced when Tiyo was initiated into its mysteries in the world which he visited.

In the same way we may explain the Flute observance as a ceremony for the fructification of corn and production of rain. The Flute-youth also obtained as his bride a Corn-mist maid. Her children were not serpents, but ancestral members of the Flute clans, and when the descendants celebrate their dance, representatives of her people take part.

The nucleus of the Hopi confederacy is said to have been formed by a consolidation of these two phratries, the Snakes and the Flutes, who are reputed to be of the same blood, since their mothers were of the same people. But the mother of the Snake people, *Tcūawuqti*, in olden time gave birth to reptiles, the elder brothers of Snake men. Striving to reproduce the ancestral ceremonials, representatives of the legendary participants are introduced, and these are the reptiles which are

¹Notwithstanding strong claims are made to the contrary for other societies, I think there is evidence of an intimate relationship between the Snake priesthood and the Snake phratry, as I have already elsewhere shown. This conclusion is likewise supported by Hodge's study of the Keresan and Tanoan clans. There are, of course, many priests in the Snake fraternity at Walpi from other phratries, but the majority, including the chief, are from the Snake people.

gathered into the kivas. They are washed,¹ because everyone who takes part in a ceremony must first bathe as a purification.

While this theory of the Snake dance is plausible, it offers no explanation of why the reptiles are carried in the mouths of the priests. It can readily be seen that it presupposes that they dance in the plaza with the priests, but why are they not simply carried in the hands? For this I confess I have no adequate explanation, but the fact that they are carried in the hands as well as in the mouths at Oraibi is suggestive, especially if the Oraibi celebration is the most primitive. If we suppose that the Oraibi method is intermediate in development between that of Walpi and the ancestral, we may suppose that formerly the participants danced with the snakes in their hands. Some daring priest, for a sensation, still holding the reptile in this way, put its neck in his mouth, possibly to prevent its coiling and hiding its size. That method was startling and was adopted by all, a condition which persists at Oraibi. A further evolution of the custom would be the removal of the hands, when the reptile would be carried wholly in the mouth, as at Walpi, Cipaulovi, and Cuñopavi.²

We have knowledge of pueblo peoples where the custom of carrying reptiles in the hands still persists, or survived to within a few years, but that does not prove that Tusayan derived its dance from that source. The participants in the Keresan Snake dances probably did not carry the reptiles in their mouths. In Espejo's reference to the Acoma variant, in 1583, no mention is made of this startling method of handling reptiles, and it would hardly have escaped mention had it been noticed, as it must have been had it existed. Mrs Stevenson, in her valuable account of the Snake dance of Sia, does not mention the custom of putting the snake in the mouth, but speaks of the Sia priests as carrying them in their hands. The Hopi claim that the Keresan priests never put the reptiles in their mouths. Thus the evidence, such as it is, seems to point to the conclusion that the habit was locally developed in Tusayan.

The public exhibition, called the Antelope dance, on the afternoon of the eighth day, is evidently connected with corn celebrations, for at that time a wad of cornstalks and melon vines, instead of the reptiles, is carried in the mouths of the priests, as on the following day.

The episode in the Snake kiva at Walpi, when the bear and puma personators carried cornstalks in their mouths and moved them before the faces of men, women, and children spectators, has probably the same significance.³ The pinches of different colored sand which were taken from the sand picture of the Antelopes before it was dismantled were carried to the cornfields, as symbolic of the different colored corn they hoped their prayers would bring conformably to the legend of its efficacy in that direction.

¹Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 81-86.

²The same method appears to have existed elsewhere. American Anthropologist, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1893.

³Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 62, 63.

While this bifid element of corn worship and rain ceremonials runs through the whole festival, that part of it which pertains to rain-making is most prominent in the work of the Snake priests, while corn rites pertain to the Antelopes. The two elements are interwoven, but, as would naturally be the case, the corn rites are most prominent in the kiva celebrations of the Antelope priests. The Antelope chief controls the ceremony, and his priests dance with the wad of cornstalks in the Corn dance.¹

My efforts to discover the identity of the asperger who calls out the Keresan words, "*Tcamahia*," etc.,² at the *kisi*, have not been rewarded with great success. He apparently is not represented at Cipaulovi and Cuñopavi, but is personated at Oraibi and Walpi. He alone wears the coronet of cottonwood, and his body is characteristically decorated. Undoubtedly he is not one of the Antelope priests, for he takes no prominent part in Antelope secret rites. He is not a Snake priest in function or dress. Two facts throw a glimmer of light on his identity. The words which he calls out are Keresan words, and in the legend³ of the Snake hero, "*Tcamahia*" is said to have left the Snake people and to have been joined by other clans at the Keresan pueblo, Acoma. In addition there may be quoted the statement of the Antelope chief that a personified representative from Acoma joins them biennially and assists them in the public exhibition of their dance. It seems as if the asperger who utters the Keresan invocation may personate a Keresan visitor, the ancestral wanderer, who left the Snake people in ancient times, and met other people from another direction at Acoma. His dress and speech are different, for he is not a Hopi; he is of the older stock, known by the same name as the ancient stone implements on the Antelope altar, *tcamahia*, the ancients, whom some of the Hopi claim did not come upon the earth through the same *sipapú* as themselves, but who at their advent were living in the far east.⁴

I have given much thought to the question why Antelope priests are so called, and what connection there can be between the antelope and the snake in this nomenclature. At one time I even doubted whether I could believe my Hopi friends in their statements that they were Antelope priests, notwithstanding their name, *Tcūbwympkiya*, has the

¹The erroneous statement that the "hugger" in the Snake dance is an Antelope priest is republished in many accounts of the Snake dance. This inaccuracy arose from the fact that in the Antelope dance an Antelope priest carried the wad of cornstalks and vines. Throughout the Snake dance all the Antelopes remain in line, singing, and holding such reptiles as are passed to them by the gatherers, but the "hugger" in the Snake dance is always a Snake priest.

²Journ. Amer. Eth. and Archæol., Vol. IV, pp. 73, 92.

³Op. cit., p. 117.

⁴With our present light it would be little more than plausible speculation to conclude that the Snake dances of the Rio Grande pueblos of Keresan stock originally came from Tusayan. That the Snake dance at Sia is closely alike that in Tusayan there is no doubt, and that Acoma had a Snake dance in 1583 is well known. A colony of Kawaika (Keresan) once lived in Antelope valley of Tusayan, or at least there is a ruin there called by the same name as Laguna, where there was also formerly a Snake dance. The indications are that the Keresan Snake dances are of the same source as those of the Hopi, but Keresan words in the Hopi invocation may admit of a different interpretation.

root of *teübio*, antelope.¹ A study of the Oraibi altar effectually silences all doubt on that score, for the effigies of antelopes' heads form part of its paraphernalia. I have no satisfactory explanation of the connection of the two priesthoods, but offer this suggestion: The Ala or Horn people, now identified with the Flute, originally lived with the Snake people, possibly as two phratries. When they separated, in an ancestral home, a majority wandered off with the Flute people, but a few remained with the Snakes. The predominating clans gave their names to the two groups, but although a number of the Ala people remained with the Snakes, it was not large. These Ala or Horn people were Antelopes, and their sacerdotal descendants are the Antelope priests; but the clans were small and became extinct, and the chiefs came from the predominating Snake family. The old name of Antelope remained, and their symbol in effigy persists on the Oraibi altar, but the clan was lost for a time.

Among the Flute branch the Ala people were vigorous, and retained both blood and name, so that when Snake and Flute people came together again, in Tusayan, they recognized each other as kin. At that time, indeed, the Horn family existed in Walpi in Alosaka, and he was naturally sent to spy out the character of the Flute men when they came. This personage is still represented in the Flute dance at that pueblo, as I have elsewhere described.²

Summing up the foregoing speculations, I am led to state the following probabilities which may be used as suggestions in future attempts to divine the meaning of the Snake dance. That the ceremony is a rain-making observance can not be doubted, and the nature of many acts shows that it is likewise tinged with sun worship. To these must now be added corn or seed germination, growth and maturity, implied in the somewhat misleading name "Corn-dance," a dominating influence in every great rite of Tusayan. I am inclined to believe that the Snake dance has two main purposes, the making of rain and the growth of corn, and renewed research confirms my belief, elsewhere expressed, that ophiolatry has little or nothing to do with it. If there is any worship of the snake, it is of such a nature that it may be more correctly designated ancestor worship. Nor does it appear to me that the snake, as here used, is wholly a symbol of water, as the frog, tadpole, or dragonfly. The reptile is introduced as a totemic personation by the society of the Snake phratry to reproduce ancestral conditions in which the ceremony was performed as the legend indicates. The same thought is expressed in a similar way in widely different Tusayan ceremonies. Take any one of the *kateinas*, for instance; they do not introduce the totemic animal, to be sure, in the *Kateina* dance, but they personate it by wearing masks. They thus attempt to resurrect the

¹Note likewise the element *teü* in *Teüawymptiya*. Snake priest, and *Teübwymptiya*, Antelope priest.

²Journal of American Folk-lore, Vol. VII, No. xxvii, p. 287.

ancient performers or dramatize archaic celebrations. Where the drama induces them to introduce certain mythic animals, practical reasons lead them to personate what they can not obtain. They personate the duck (*Pawik*), and it is believed when they don the mask of *Pawik*, they become *Pawik kateinas*, and thus they perform the ceremony as did their totemic ancestors. Reptiles, however, are easy to obtain; their personation by men is therefore not necessary, and most tenacious of all in its influence, the presence of the snake is a startling component which fascinates and survives.

This theory implies but does not necessitate former belief in totemic descent. Certainly the evidence which we have leads us to believe that the Snake people, with a snake totem, believe they are descended from the Snake-woman, or if they stoutly deny descent from reptiles at present, may have once held it. Their denial, however, is only so much evidence, and is not necessarily decisive proof. White men as well as Indians deny many things which the comparative scientific method demonstrates to be true.

RESEMBLANCES TO THE KERESAN SNAKE DANCE

The valuable article by Mrs Stevenson gives us about all that is known of the character of the Snake dance among the Keres. Although Hodge¹ has found evidence that this ceremony was of late introduction in Sia, we may rightly suppose that the celebration described by Mrs Stevenson gives an idea of its general character among Keresan communities. I have already shown the points of similarity of the Snake dance of Walpi and that of Sia, as described by Mrs Stevenson, and have called attention to the probable meaning of those similarities, viz, derivation either from each other or differentiation of both from the same culture. The studies of the three Tusayan variants of the Snake dance, which are described in the preceding pages, add further evidence of relationship between the Tusayan and Keresan Snake dances. As would naturally be suspected, the Sia ceremonial differs more from any one Tusayan variant than the Tusayan dances differ among themselves, but the resemblances of the Oraibi, or most primitive, are closer to that of Sia than the highly differentiated Walpi performance.

The only other theory besides the derivation to account for these similarities of Tusayan and Keresan Snake dances would be that of independent origins, now being vigorously advocated in many quarters. While I am heartily in sympathy with this movement as a protest against wild comparisons and deductions from isolated likenesses of objects or myths, it may be carried too far. Members of the Keresan and Tusayan stocks, if we may so call them, have repeatedly been brought together in historic times. People from the Rio Grande have migrated in a body to Tusayan and built towns there or become assimilated with the sedentary inhabitants of that province. So, likewise, other peoples who once lived in Tusayan have moved back to the Rio Grande, and their descendants now form a component of pueblos like Laguna, Sandia, and others. This fact in itself is indicative of resemblances in ceremonials among these separated peoples, and when in studying the Snake dance of Sia and Tusayan we find many likenesses—not one or two resemblances in symbols and paraphernalia, but many resemblances in minute details—we rationally conclude that they are derivative and not of independent origins, due to a similar mind acted upon by a like environment.

¹American Anthropologist, April, 1896, p. 134. Introduced by the "Cochiti somewhat more than thirty years ago."

The resemblances between Tusayan and Keresan Snake dances, which become more detailed as we study variants of the former at Oraibi and the Middle Mesa, render it less probable that two ceremonials coinciding in so many particulars originated independently. I hold, however, that we can not yet satisfactorily answer the question whether the Tusayan Snake dances were derived from the Keresan, or vice versa, or whether both differentiated from a common source.

Hodge¹ favors the idea that "the former Laguna Snake rites were introduced from the Hopi rather than from Acoma, where its influence was so slight as to leave not even a traditional trace," and he regards it quite likely that the Snake ceremony performed at Laguna only twenty years ago had its origin among the Hopi, and that it came, not "probably from Oraibi," as the Laguna people say, but more likely from the now ruined pueblo of Kawaika, whose name adhered to the newly founded pueblo near the lagoon. The people of the old "Kawaika" pueblo in Antelope valley came to Tusayan originally from the "far east," probably the Rio Grande. The theory that the Laguna Snake ceremony was derived from those Kawaikas who settled in Tusayan implies, of course, that some of them returned when Laguna was settled, which is possible; but the question whether the Acoma people did not have the Snake dance before western Kawaika was built, or before colonists left the east to settle in Antelope valley, is pertinent. If it had, as I suspect it did, the introduction of the Snake cult in Laguna from Tusayan pertains only to one Keresan locality, and we have yet to show that Acoma derived it from Tusayan. The Keresan songs and invocation in the Tusayan rites admit of but one interpretation. They at least were derived from Keresan sources.

The presentation of the Snake dance and accompanying Snake rites at Oraibi is closer to that of Sia than any of the Tusayan variants, and everything goes to show that it is the most primitive. The Walpi dance, on the other hand, has become more specialized, and is the most unlike the Sia as described by Mrs Stevenson;² but the question whether the Tusayan Snake cultus was derived from the Keresan, or vice versa, remains unanswered.

The meaning of the Snake dance can not, I believe, be made out completely without comparative studies, and can not be obtained from living priests. As pointed out by Tylor, in speaking of the religions of the great nations, so in that of Tusayan—

In the long and varied course in which religion has adapted itself to new intellectual and moral conditions, one of the most marked processes has affected time-honored religious customs, whose form has been faithfully and even servilely kept up while their nature has often undergone transformation. . . . The natural difficulty of following these changes has been added to by the sacerdotal tendency to ignore and obliterate traces of the inevitable change of religion from age to age, and to convert into mysteries ancient rites whose real barbaric meaning is too far out of harmony with the spirit of a later time.³

¹ Op. cit., p. 135.

² Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

³ Primitive Culture, Vol. II, p. 363.

I have no doubt that at some future time enough material will be collected to enable the ethnologist to give a rational explanation of the meaning of the Snake dance from comparative studies, but I doubt very much whether the Tusayan priests now know its original meaning. The trail for the ethnographer is, however, plain; it is highly essential that renewed efforts be made to record more accurately than has yet been done the unknown details of the Tusayan Snake dance before it is finally abandoned or transformed by modifications. Whatever current explanations are now regarded as orthodox by the priests should be given weight as evidence, but not regarded as decisive.

Of more than usual interest in a study of the distribution of the Snake ceremonials is the following reference, which I quote without comment:

It was discovered [that] the Cocopahs, like the Moquis of Arizona, practice the Snake Dance ceremony. Not far from their village is an old adobe house especially constructed for this purpose. Here they annually resort, to avoid publicity, to have their Snake dance. Rattlesnakes are taken to this house, where the people of the Snake clan congregate and perform their hazardous ceremony. (From letter in *Chicago Tribune*, dated Pomona, Cal., October 31, 1895?)

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¹From the varied and scattered newspapers and magazines in which accounts of the Snake dance have been published and copied, it is almost impossible to make this bibliography complete. Reviews of works on the Snake dance, of which I have over thirty, are not mentioned.

The author has not completed his studies on the Snake dance, and would be glad to communicate with other students on this subject. The more important articles on the Walpi Snake dance of 1891 and 1893 are mentioned in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, Vol. IV.

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